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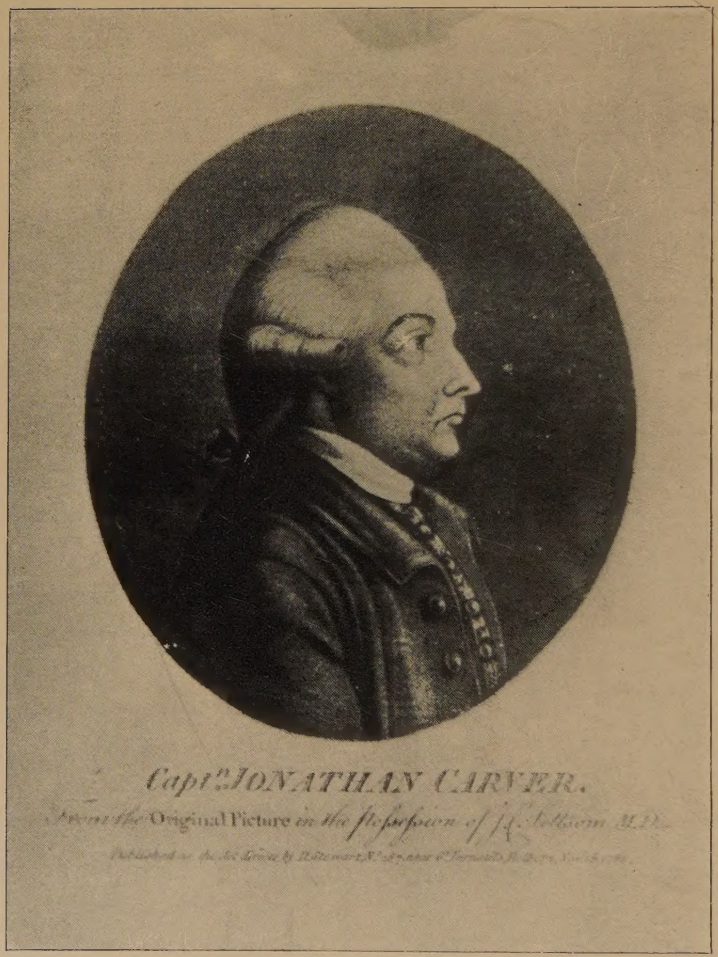

Jonathan Carver

From steel portrait in Carver's *Through the Interior Parts of North America* (London, 1778)

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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

Donated by Solon J. Buck 1914

EDITED BY

LYMAN COPELAND DRAPER, LL. D.

SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY

VOL. VI

Being a page-for-page Reprint of the Original Issue of 1872

UNDER THE EDITORIAL DIRECTION OF

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL. D.

Secretary and Superintendent

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Preface to Reprint Edition

It will be remembered that volume v of the *Collections* was published in three parts, representing the years 1867, 1868, and 1869. This form of publication led to difficulties, owing to the fact that the parts appear to have been distributed on different mailing lists; and being bound in paper, they were not properly cared for by many of the recipients. Thus was the edition in large measure wasted, only those accustomed to book collection keeping their parts together, and soon the volume became a rarity. Chapter 105, Laws of 1872, provided that "a volume of not exceeding 500 pages be printed, not oftener than every two years, commencing in the year 1872," the edition to be 2,000 copies, bound in cloth. Volume vi was the first to be issued under the new law.

Sixty pages are filled with the annual reports of the Executive Committee for the four years (1869–72) intervening since the appearance of volume v; and eighty-three more with memorial addresses on several distinguished citizens of the Commonwealth who had died in the interim. Under the present publishing arrangements, this class of material is contained in the annual volume of *Proceedings;* but previous to 1887, the *Collections* furnished the only medium for its presentation.

Samuel A. Storrow's interesting contemporary account of "The North-West in 1817" is material of much importance to the general history of this region. Of the same character is Maj. Thomas Forsyth's illuminating "Journal of a Voyage from St. Louis to the Falls of St. Anthony," extending from

June 3–September 17, 1819; to which is appended a further account in his letter of September 23 to Gov. William Clark.

Of wider interest, also, than purely Wisconsin history, is Daniel Steele Durrie's two well-digested articles, "Captain Jonathan Carver" and "The Carver Grant;" these constitute the most important contributions made to the *Collections* by that veteran Librarian of the Society, and doubtless will always be considered as authoritative.

Moses Meeker's account of the "Early History of the Lead Region of Wisconsin" was the forerunner of a long line of articles in the *Collections,* bearing upon the oldest industrial centre of the State. Mr. Palmer's "Western Wisconsin in 1836" is along the same lines.

In his "Eleazer Williams and the Lost Prince," John Y. Smith opened a controversy that has raged unto the present; although probably the question may in our day be considered settled, by the quite general acceptance of Mr. Smith's view of thirty-seven years ago, rejecting Williams's claim as absurd.

The always entertaining story of the founding of Madison, some of the picturesque features of early life at the capital, and the question of the origin of the naming of city and county, are the themes of two lively symposiums, participated in by Dr. Draper, Roseline Peck, William H. Canfield, Moses M. Strong, Henry S. Baird, Morgan L. Martin, J. G. Knapp, and others. Mr. Knapp has a separate article upon his reminiscences of the town; and Dr. Draper continues the subject by an account of an interesting character in early Dane County history, Michael St. Cyr, a French half-breed who kept a rude tavern at the head of Lake Mendota, and assisted as rodman in the early surveys of both Mendota and Monona.

The local annals of Green, Rock, and Walworth counties are reviewed by Albert Salisbury, Isaac T. Smith, Henry F. Janes (founder of Janesville), and Charles M. Baker. Dr. Draper closes the volume with a sympathetic sketch of Mr.

Baker, and a note on Neyon de Villiers, the French partisan leader who attacked the Sauk and Foxes of Wisconsin in 1730 and was otherwise prominent in our Western border history.

As a whole, the present volume, both as to contents and editorial treatment, maintains a high average among the first ten volumes of *Collections* now being reprinted, and is well worthy of the present resuscitation.

R. G. T.

Madison, Wis.
May, 1908.

REPORT

AND

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF WISCONSIN,

FOR THE YEARS 1869, 1870, 1871 AND 1872.

VOLUME VI.

MADISON, WIS.:
ATWOOD & CULVER, STATE PRINTERS, JOURNAL BLOCK.
1872.

Introductory

In presenting the sixth volume of the Society's *Collections* to the public, very little need be said by way of explanation. After a few year's temporary intermission in the publication of our *Collections,* consequent upon the rigid State economy enjoined upon all our institutions during the war period, our fifth volume was authorized to be published in Three Parts, of 150 pages each, in the years 1867, '68, '69. Finding a difficulty in this mode of publication, the Legislature of 1871 authorized the issuance of a volume in alternate years, commencing in 1872. This volume is, therefore, the first issued under this new arrangement.

The matter of which the present volume is made up, presents the usual variety. Several carefully prepared papers on some of Wisconsin's departed citizens, men of mark in their day, and who have left their imprint behind them; early travels in the North-West in 1817 and 1819; an exhaustive paper on Captain Carver and his famous and much-mooted land grant; sketches of the Wisconsin lead region from 1822 to 1836; a thorough *exposé* of the pretended claims of Eleazer Williams, a former citizen of Wisconsin, to the Dauphinship of France; early reminiscences of Madison, Dane county, and the location of the State Capital; Green county pioneers; early settlement of Rock county, Janesville, and Walworth county, form the principal topics discussed. They serve collectively to add much to the elucidation of the prominent men and events connected with the successive periods of Wisconsin history.

L. C. D.

Madison, August, 1872.

Objects of Collection Desired

1. Manuscript statements and narratives of pioneer settlers—old letters and journals relative to the early history and settlement of Wisconsin, and of the Black Hawk War; biographical notes of our pioneers, and of eminent citizens, deceased; and facts illustrative of our Indian tribes, their history, characteristics, sketches of their prominent chiefs, orators and warriors, together with contributions of Indian implements, dress, ornaments and curiosities.

2. Diaries, narratives, and documents relative to the War of the Rebellion, and more especially of the part enacted by Wisconsin officers and soldiers—their heroic exploits, sufferings and services.

3. Files of newspapers, books, pamphlets, college catalogues; minutes of ecclesiastical conventions, associations and synods, and other publications relating to this State or Michigan Territory, of which Wisconsin formed a part from 1818 to 1835—and hence the Michigan Territorial Laws and Journals, and files of newspapers for that period, we are particularly anxious to obtain.

4. Drawings and descriptions of our ancient mounds and fortifications, their size, representation and locality.

5. Information respecting any ancient coins or other curiosities found in Wisconsin. The contribution of such articles together with rare specimens of natural history, to the Cabinet of the Society, is respectfully solicited.

6. Indian geographical names of streams and localities in this State, with their significations.

7. Books of all kinds, and especially such as relate to American history, travels and biography in general, and the West in particular, family genealogies, old magazines, pamphlets, files of newspapers, maps, historical manuscripts, autographs of distinguished persons, coins, medals, paintings, portraits, statuary and engravings.

8. We solicit from Historical Societies and other learned bodies that interchange of books and other materials by which the usefulness of institutions of this nature is so essentially enhanced—pledging ourselves to repay such contributions by acts in kind to the full extent of our ability.

9. The Society particularly begs the favor and compliment of authors and publishers to present, with their autographs, copies of their respective works for its Library.

10. Editors and publishers of newspapers, magazines and reviews, will confer a lasting favor on the Society by contributing their publications regularly for its Library—or at least such numbers as may contain articles bearing upon Wisconsin history, biography, geography or antiquities; all of which will be carefully preserved for binding.

Packages for the Society may be sent to, or deposited with, the following gentlemen, who have kindly consented to take charge of them. Such parcels, to prevent mistakes, should be properly enveloped and addressed, even if but a single article: and it would, furthermore, be desirable that donors should forward the Corresponding Secretary a specification of books or articles donated and deposited.

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MAJ. J. O. CULVER,	HON. S. D. HASTINGS,	PROF. WM. F. ALLEN.

STANDING COMMITTEES.

Publications—DRAPER, G. B. SMITH, BUTLER, CARPENTER and CULVER.
Auditing Accounts—HASTINGS, FIRMIN, ROSS and CHAPMAN.
Finance—MILLS, BAETZ, HASTINGS, VAN SLYKE and GURNEE.
Endowment—FAIRCHILD, VAN SLYKE, DELAPLAINE, MILLS, WORTHINGTON, ATWOOD, PINNEY, ORTON, HILL, PROUDFIT and DRAPER.
Literary Exchanges—DURRIE, FIRMIN, HOBBINS, SKINNER and BREESE.
Cabinet—SHIPMAN, ALLEN, VILAS, STEVENS, KEYES and DURRIE.
Natural History—LAPHAM, J. Y. SMITH, HOBBINS, DELAPLAINE and STEVENS.
Printing—ROSS, CARPENTER, CULVER, KEYES and JOHN Y. SMITH.
Art Gallery—CARPENTER, DELAPLAINE, MILLS, FAIRCHILD, BREESE, VILAS and SHIPMAN.
Historical Narratives—PINNEY, FAIRCHILD, ORTON, SHIPMAN and DRAPER.
Indian History and Nomenclature—CHAPMAN, JOHN Y. SMITH, BUTLER, ALLEN, HILL and STEVENS.
Lectures and Essays—ROSS, BUTLER, WORTHINGTON, CONOVER and DURRIE.
Soliciting Committee—CHAPMAN, HOBBINS, SHIPMAN, BAETZ and DEAN.
Annual Address—G. B. SMITH, ROSS, GURNEE, FAIRCHILD and PINNEY.
Membership Nominations—MILLS, BREESE, GURNEE, PROUDFIT and SKINNER.
Library Purchases and Fixtures—DRAPER, CONOVER and DURRIE.
Obituaries—ATWOOD, DELAPLAINE, ROSS, DEAN and HASTINGS.

Fifteenth Annual Report of Executive Committee

Sumbitted January 1, 1869

In the account we rendered a twelvemonth since, we, with pleasure, mentioned the specialty of the year as the reception of the Tank Library. The year 1868 has brought with it, besides our ordinary additions by purchases, donations and exchanges, an important acquisition in a full set of the British Patent Office Reports, from 1617 to the present time—giving us a complete illustrated history of British invention for the past two and a half centuries. We are indebted to the commissioners of the British Patent Office, and the friendly attentions of our late American minister to London, Hon. Charles Francis Adams, for this valuable donation. Each such set cost the British Government over twelve thousand five hundred dollars, gold currency. We cannot well over-estimate its uses and advantages in stimulating the inventive genius of the Northwest, and thus benefiting all classes of people. Joseph Sabin, the well known American bibliographer, writes, referring to these reports: "I congratulate your Society on having secured so valuable a set of books, worth over $15,000 when bound." The most of the set are unbound, and we must rely on the enlightened liberality of the State to provide for their binding, a reliance that has never failed us when we have made an appeal for an object so deserving. And, in this case, it may be added, that the British Government waived its requirement that the set should be bound at the expense of the donee before they leave the Patent Office, under a promise that the binding would be provided for here. This was all the more

generous on the part of the British Government, as they assured us that they have but a few complete sets of these Reports remaining.

Receipts and Disbursements

The Treasurer's report shows the receipts of the year into the General Fund, including the small balance on hand, at its commencement, to have been $1,075.92, and the disbursements $803.63, together with $56.63, collected as members' fees, fines, donations, etc., transferred to the Binding Fund—leaving an unexpended balance in the General Fund of $215.66. The Binding Fund, which was reported last year as $108.10, has been increased by interest, and the above transfer, to $172.73.

Principal Additions and Donors

Having already spoken of the value and number of the British Patent Office Reports, and which are to be regularly supplied to us hereafter, at the rate of about a hundred volumes a year, we may refer briefly to some of the principal donors to the Library and collections during the year.

The State of Wisconsin 47 volumes, Dr. F. B. Hough 34, J. H. Tesch 14, Hon. C. E. Potter 13, Joseph Sabin 13, A. Hawley 12, Pennsylvania Historical Society 11, Hon. Frank Jordan 11, L. Bill 9, Col. S. V. Shipman 7, Hon. T. O. Howe 6, Commissioner of Patents 6, J. F. Williams 6, Hon. B. F. Hopkins 5, Joel Munsell 5, Robert Clarke 5, American Bible Society 5, Mrs. M. M. Mitchell 4, Miss E. S. Quincy 4, R. R. Crosby 4, Gen. J. Richardson 4, Adjutant General of Connecticut 4, Hon. H. E. Paine 3, Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, England 3, Prof. A. H. Worthen 3, State of Rhode Island 3, Astor Library 3, J. T. Clarke 3, Georgia Historical Society 3, A. Bailey 3, Smithsonian Institution 2, Interior Department 2, Hon. J. R. Doolittle 2, President P. A. Chadbourne 2, Hon. Byron Kilbourn 2, Milwaukee Young Men's Association 2, J. Disturnell 2, University of Christiana 2, D. T. Valentine 2, and J. E. Hilgard, Hon. G. Gale, A. Mitchell, A. Andrews, Estes Wilson, Jacob Mason, Dr. J. B. Cooper, Hon. C.

Woodman, Canadian Government, D. Ricketson, State of Massachusetts, E. W. Stoddard, J. R. Snowden, S. L. Boardman, C. E. Stickney, C. C. Jones, Maj. C. F. Legate, A. A. Fiske, Hon. C. Hudson, Maj. L. A. H. Latour, Hon. D. Sears, Rev. W. D. Love, Gen. M. C. Meigs, Mrs. C. L. Ward, Hon. J. G. Palfrey, Gen. J. W. De Peyster, David Holt, J. W. Lohmiller, D. S. Durrie, Hon. H. Barnard, A. B. Mullett, Hon. S. D. Hastings, Boston Public Library, Essex Institute, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Chicago Historical Societies, one volume each.

Library Additions

The ordinary additions to the Library during the year have been 446 bound volumes—of which 308 were by donation, and 138 by purchase; and 682 documents and pamphlets—total 1,128. The British Patent Reports, 2,392—making the year's total 3,520; and the total number now in Library, bound and unbound, 35,025. Of the additions of the year two volumes are folios, and 50 are quartos—making a total of 1,502 folios now in the Library, and 1,757 quartos.

Progressive Library Increase

The past and present condition of the Library is shown in the following table:

Date.	Volumes added.	Documents and Pamphlets.	Both together.	Total in library.
1854, Jan. 1.....	50	.....	50	50
1855, Jan. 2.....	1,000	1,000	2,000	2,050
1856, Jan. 1.....	1,065	2,000	3,065	5,115
1857, Jan. 6.....	1,005	300	1,305	6,420
1858, Jan. 1.....	1,024	959	1,988	8,403
1859, Jan. 4.....	1,107	500	1,607	10,010
1860, Jan. 3.....	1,800	723	2,528	12,535
1861, Jan. 2.....	837	1,134	1,971	14,504
1862, Jan. 2.....	610	711	1,321	15,825
1863, Jan. 2.....	544	2,373	2,917	18,742
1864, Jan. 2.....	248	356	604	19,346
1865, Jan. 3.....	520	226	746	20,092
1866, Jan. 2.....	368	806	1,174	21,266
1867, Jan. 3.....	923	2,811	3,734	25,000
1868, Jan. 4.....	5,462	1,043	6,505	31,505
1869, Jan. 1.....	2,838	682	3,520	35,025
	19,401	15,644	35,025	

Pamphlet Additions

To the Pamphlet Department, contributions have been made as follows: Hon T. O. Howe 152, Hon. C. E. Potter 88, Gov. L. Fairchild 85, Dr. F. B. Hough 75, Ledyard Bill 53, J. Wiley & Son 43, S. D. Hastings 43, Bangs, Merwin & Co. 23, Joel Munsell 14, L. C. Draper 13, Col. S. V. Shipman 12, Hon. Arad Joy 11, Pennsylvania Historical Society 8, Leavitt & Co. 8, J. W. Bouton 7, D. S. Durrie 4, Minnesota Historical Society 4, Hon. B. F. Hopkins 4, Philadelphia Library 3, Hon. H. Barnard 3, C. A. Eldridge 3, Miss R. L. Bodley 3, R. R. Crosby 3, Gen. J. K. Proudfit 2, E. D. Neill 2, Maj. L. A. H. Latour 2, Robert Clarke 2, L. E. Mitchell 2, Col. E. A. Calkins 2, H. W. Rood 2, Beloit College 2, and Yale College 2; and Col. Thornton, Rev. E. M. Stone, C. C. Trowbridge, Hon. J. Scott Harrison, J. Disturnell, American Antiquarian Society, Hon. C. C. Washburn, S. G. Benedict, C. H. Nichols and J. P. Bradley, one each.

Character of Additions

A large portion of the past year's additions to the Library have been works of much merit, and of a kind exceedingly desirable. Twenty volumes have been added to the Department of Bibliography; seventeen volumes issued by learned societies; twenty-three volumes have been added to the Genealogical Department, and thirty-three volumes to our local history collection; twenty-two volumes have been added to our collection of works on the Rebellion; twelve volumes of Sabin's historical reprints, and many of Munsell's valuable series on American history; and others of J. G. Shea, Wm. Veazie, Robert Clarke and Wm. Dodge.

Among the rare and interesting works added during the year we may cite a little volume, *Contemplations on Mortality,* by Samuel Lee, Boston, 1698, presented by Estes Wilson; *Esquimaux Legends,* printed in Greenland, 1859–60, and bound by Esquimaux—the first work published there, presented by Hon. P. A. Chadbourne; *Lettre de Christophe*

Colomb, privately printed Paris, 1865, presented by Robert Clarke; *Historical Annals* of the first part of the thirteenth century, in Danish, from the University of Christiana; a volume of *Early New England Sermons,* 1703, &c.; a volume of pamphlets on archæology; *American Magazine,* 1758; *Pennsylvania Chronicle,* 1769, and *Pennsylvania Magazine,* 1775.

To our local Wisconsin history we are gratified to receive and recognize such works as Mr. Love's *Wisconsin in the War of the Rebellion,* and Judge Gale's work on the *Upper Mississippi Valley*—both works of merit, well calculated to attract attention to our State and to its history. Our Librarian, Daniel S. Durrie, has contributed his new work, *Bibliographia Genealogica Americana, or Index to American Pedigrees*—a work of much value to libraries and genealogical students generally.

Our own fifth volume of *Collections,* issued during the year, should receive a passing notice in our annual record. It is not always an easy matter, from limited and dissimilar materials, to make up a volume of historical collections that will meet the requirements of all classes of readers or students. Our aim has simply been to preserve such fragments of our history as were placed at our disposal, or within our reach; and our fifth volume exhibits a greater number of papers than any one of its predecessors.

That our own citizens may understand something of the appreciation expressed by many prominent men, both for our published *Collections* and the progress of our Society, we will append a few extracts from recent letters:

"Let me thank you," writes the historian Parkman, author of the *History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac,* "for the welcome gift you have sent me, the fifth volume of your Society's *Collections.* The contents are very interesting."

John Gilmary Shea, the author of several works on the early history of the North West, and the able editor of the English translated edition of Charlevoix's *History of New France,* writes: "I have received with great pleasure, and tender my sincere thanks therefor, the parts composing the fifth volume of your Society's *Collections.* Its value, under the capable

editorship, can only be appreciated by those who, like myself, have to use it in elucidating early history. That test shows its real importance and worth, which may not appear to any ordinary reader."

"I have received," writes J. A. McAllister, Esq., of Philadelphia, "your new volume. I long to see your very valuable collection. Your Society is progressing more rapidly than ours, which, considering its age and advantages, ought to be the most flourishing Historical Society in the country. We move slowly, and I don't think we shall make much progress until we have a fire proof building and an endowment."

That yet energetic pioneer, C. C. Trowbridge, of Detroit, who treaded our Wisconsin forests with Cass and Doty almost fifty years ago, writes: "Many thanks for your new fifth volume. I am filled with admiration when I look at the *resumé* of your work. A library of thirty-five thousand volumes and pamphlets, where but yesterday the only records were made with the point of a scalping knife upon a piece of birch bark by the red denizens of the forest! How the savants of Europe of the Vattemare family must open their big eyes when they read Wisconsin's story. I wish you and your compeers, had lived in Michigan. Then we, too, might have had something to show of our past history."

"I desire to return you my sincere thanks," writes Hon. John F. Potter, "for volume fifth of the *Collections* of your Society, which I have read with very great interest as I have those which preceded it. I am deeply interested in all that relates to the early history of our State, and I am sure the grateful thanks of all our people are due to you for the industry, perseverance and ability which have marked your long connection with the Society."

"We have received," says the Milwaukee *Sentinel,* "the fifth volume of the *Report and Collections* of the State Historical Society. It is quite an improvement, typographically and otherwise, upon the four volumes already issued. It contains many interesting and valuable papers relating to the early history of our own State and the great North West. The Society

is in a flourishing condition. * * * The Executive Committee urge the importance of providing a Binding Fund, the income of which to be used for binding purposes. The Society has thousands of pamphlets and many valuable books that need binding, and the usefulness of their collection would be greatly enhanced by such a needful provision. Already, an early pioneer, Hon. John Catlin, now of New Jersey, has donated a hundred dollars as a nucleus for such a fund, and we hope that the large-hearted and liberal men of our noble State will respond to the call of one of the noblest institutions in the West."

Newspaper Department

We have had no newspaper files bound during the year, but shall soon hope to make up the deficiency. We have added but seven volumes of newspapers to our collection two of which were published in the last century. Our collection, now numbers 1,428 volumes, of which 146 were published in the preceding century.

Map and Atlas Department

General Sherman's Military Map of the South, from General W. T. Sherman; Village Plat of Mount Vernon, Dane county, Wis., from Hon. C. Woodman; Chapman's Sectional Map of Wisconsin; Chapman's Sectional Map of Minnesota; Chapman's Sectional Map of Iowa, from Silas Chapman; Farmer's Map of Michigan and Wisconsin, 1838, from J. Memhard; Colton's Township Map of Ohio, 1864, from J. H. Tesch; New York State Census Map, 1865, from Dr. F. B. Hough; Pattingill's New Map of Grant county, Wis., on rollers, from the county officers of Grant county. We have now about 429 maps and atlases in our collection.

Picture Gallery

Four oil portraits have been added to the Art Gallery during the year. One of Gen. Henry Dodge, painted by Marine, and presented by Hon. A. C. Dodge; one of Hon. Sat. Clark, painted by Clifford, and presented by Mr. Clark; one of

Daniel Whitney, painted at Philadelphia, and presented by Mrs. D. Whitney; one of Lyman C. Draper, Secretary of the Society, painted by Marine, and presented by the friends of the Secretary. There are now 66 oil paintings in our collection. We renew our appeal for additional pictures of our pioneers, prominent citizens, war heroes and Indian chiefs.

Additions to the Cabinet

Autographs.—Manuscript letter of Samuel Adams, Jan. 26, 1795; Alexander Hamilton, October 7, 1794; Gen. Moses Hazen, June 3, 1783; Col. David Humphreys, Feb. 10, 1783; John Harris, Oct. 12, 1791; D. W. Kittera, Nov. 15, 1792; Capt. M. G. Houdon, Dec. 10, 1791; Capt. Von Herr, Sept. 25, 1782; Wm. Jones, Dec. 16, 1789; Charles Willing, June 1, 1772, and Ralph Pomeroy, June 3, 1782—eleven interesting Revolutionary autographs, from Hon. Arad Joy; manuscript letter, signed, of the Mexican General Gabino Morales, in Spanish, from Gen. James Richardson; Gen. E. P. Gaines, to Governor Rabin of Georgia, from Geo. R. Peck; original patent of Kilbourne's Addition to Milwaukee, 1835, from Hon. Byron Kilbourn; bill of sale of a negro girl, 14 years old, in 1814, from L. C. Bierce; Japanese signatures, from J. M. Campbell.

Coin and Currency.—*Copper Coin.*—Vermont auctori, n. d.; Massachusetts Commonwealth, 1788; U. S. half cent, 1800; Republique Francaise, n. d.; ein kreutzer, 1816; a half kreutzer, 1816; a quarter kreutzer, 1816—seven pieces, from Gen. N. F. Lund; a Canada cent, from Miss A. Beechlin; a Province of Canada penny, a French Turnois, copper, 1635, and an old Roman copper coin, from Dr. A. B. Weymouth; dix centimes, Empire Francaise, 1854; a ten kreutzer bill, Bohemia, 1860, from L. Poper; a twenty-five cent shinplaster, Hamilton and Lebanon Manufacturing Company, 1815; a $60 Continental bill, 1776, from W. H. Beadle; a $50 Confederate bill, from C. A. Foster; a $10 Confederate bill, from Mrs. C. Lefferts; a $5 Confederate bill, from N. E. Goldthwaite; a $1 Confederate bill, from A. E. Lyttle.

Manuscript.—A manuscript orderly-book of Maj. Simon Belding, Dept. Q. M., 1779, from R. R. Crosby.

Natural History Specimens.—Four cotton pods, from De Soto, Arkansas, from G. C. Smith; a fine specimen of float copper, weighing fourteen pounds, found at Trenton, Wis., from J. F. Collins; horn of a buffalo bull, killed in the Indian country in 1867, from Capt. C. H. Olney; four specimens of horseshoe fish, from Narraganset Bay, R. I., from S. G. Benedict; a fine large specimen of coquina stone or fossil shell, from St. Augustine, Florida, from Gen. J. Richardson; a specimen of sulphuret of silver, from Hoosier mine, Colorado, from Hon. B. E. Hutchinson.

Miscellaneous.—A bar of iron manufactured at Bay View Rolling Mills, Milwaukee, from Wm. Goodnow.

Photographs, etc.—Photographs of Assembly of Wisconsin, 1867, reduced size, and of the Senate and Assembly of 1868, two cards, from the artist, E. R. Curtis; ambrotypes and daguerreotypes of soldiers and others, found in the knapsacks of deceased hospital soldiers, from Gen. J. K. Proudfit; photograph of Miss Vinnie Ream, and photograph of Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, from Miss Ream.

Rustic Chair.—A large fine rustic chair, owned and used by the late General Henry Dodge, presented by Hon. A. C. Dodge, designed to be used by the presiding officer at the meetings of the Society.

Statuary.—Plaster busts of Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, Hon. Reverdy Johnson, Hon. John Sherman, and Horace Greeley, from Miss Vinnie Ream; bust of Hon. Simeon Mills, by Miss Ream, from Gen. Mills; bust of O. H. Waldo, by Miss Ream, from Mr. Waldo; bust of Gen. James Sutherland, by E. P. Knowles, of Janesville; large medallion of President Lincoln, in frame, from E. P. Knowles; small bust of President Lincoln, from Mrs. Dr. Ott; a large bust of Gov. L. P. Harvey, deposited by the artist.

War Relics.—A piece of the inner sheathing of the rebel ram "Merrimack," blown up at Craney's Island, from F. M.

Patrick; a rebel cavalry sword, from Prairie Grove battle-field, Arkansas, from W. D. Welch.

Librarian's Labor— New Historical Matter

The Librarian, in addition to his ordinary duties, has bestowed considerable labor in cataloguing the Library proper, in making a catalogue of the Tank Library, and in arranging the British Patent Office Reports preparatory to binding. He has also spent considerable time in copying an interesting series of unpublished letters, written by the late Maj. Thomas Forsyth, from 1814 to 1833, relating to the Sauks and Foxes, and other Indian tribes, with whom he was long connected as Indian agent. The Society is indebted to his son, Col. Robert Forsyth, for the original letter books, and these transcripts were taken with a view to their future publication. They will serve to throw much new light on our border Indian history during a period hitherto but imperfectly known.

Unbound Works and Literary Exchanges

We have received from Gen. James Richardson the *Scientific American,* 4 vols., unbound, for the years 1867 and 1868; Pinkerton's *Voyages,* 6 vols., unbound, from J. H. Tesch; *Chicago Illustrated,* 13 numbers, oblong folio, from Jevne & Almini.

From the State of Wisconsin, we have received thirty volumes each of the journals of the Senate and Assembly, private and local laws, and general laws for 1868, and the Governor's message and documents, making 150 volumes for exchanges. Since the publication of the fifth volume of *Report and Collections* of the Society, a large number have been transmitted to public institutions and libraries, and individuals, eliciting not a few donations in return.

Binding Fund

Little has been effected since our last report, with reference to the increase of the binding fund, except so far as favorable impressions have been made by our repeated appeals in that behalf. We fondly trust that not a few of our men of wealth

and competence will, instead of providing too liberally for their children—which often proves a curse rather than a blessing to them—make provisions towards endowing our Binding Fund, and a General Fund, either by generous donations in their life time, or bequests in their wills. We really need more means for a greater outlay in books, and a far greater amount of binding. We must look mainly to the thoughtful, provident few, to supply this pressing want. We earnestly solicit pledges from our friends for the Binding Fund, without interest, and payable one-fifth annually till paid. Will our friends heed this appeal?

Death of Wisconsin Historians and Pioneers

During the past year, Gen. William R. Smith, long the President of our Society, and the author first of *Observations on Wisconsin Territory*, 1837, and subsequently of the *History of Wisconsin*, in 1853, has passed away. He was emphatically a landmark in our history, and for his scholarly traits, and gentlemanly habits of the olden time, he will long be remembered by those who knew him. Edwin B. Quiner, the author of an elaborate *History of Wisconsin in the Rebellion*; and Hon. George Gale, the author of a *Gale Genealogy*, and a *History of the Upper Mississippi Valley*, have also been called from time to eternity. The memories and services of these departed historians of Wisconsin, it will be the duty of our Society to commemorate and perpetuate. Steps have been taken to secure proper memorials of them.

Among our prominent pioneer settlers, who have recently been summoned to the other world, are Col. Daniel B. Parkinson, Gen. Hercules L. Dousman, and Col. Levi Sterling. Col. Parkinson left us an interesting personal narrative which we published in a former volume of our *Collections*. While a few of their fellow-pioneers still linger among us, we should make every reasonable effort to secure their written reminiscences of the rapidly receding past.

It is now twenty years this month since our Society was first organized, and fifteen since its reorganization. Five years

hence, the quarter of a century anniversary of its existence should be appropriately commemorated. Reporting, as we now do, thirty-five thousand volumes in the library, may we not hope on that interesting occasion to point, with mingled feelings of pride and gratitude, to fifty thousand volumes on our shelves, rich in the lore of historic and scientific literature?

Sixteenth Annual Report of the Executive Committee

Submitted January 4, 1870

This Society was founded twenty-one years ago. Sixteen years since, with no money in its treasury, no endowments, no smiles of wealthy friends, and only fifty volumes, all but three of which were State laws, reports and journals, upon its shelves, it was re-organized by seven earnest men, relying upon faith, hope, and labors of love, resolved to lay the foundations of a prosperous and useful institution. In the infancy of the State, and the poverty of the people, but little could have been effected without the united aid and sympathies of the people and the Legislature. It has been fortunate for the Society that it has had both. Sparks, Bancroft, Prescott, and other eminent scholars and historians have cited our Society as worthy of the emulation of similar institutions in older sections of the Union. Hon. Richard S. Field, of New Jersey, has pointed to our success as the result of the "enlightened liberality of the Legislature of Wisconsin." "Thanks to the energy of the founders of this Society," exclaimed ex-Gov. Salomon in his address before the Society and the Legislature four years since, "that we have such a depository. May the people of the whole State recognize its value, and assist and support it in its useful, disinterested and noble efforts."

Four years ago we met in annual convocation for the last time in our dark, cramped and dingy rooms, in the basement of a church, which we had occupied, with various enlargements for eleven years, and then said in our report: "Designing, in a few days to remove, with our twenty-one thousand volumes and documents, to the new suite of rooms so fittingly prepared for our reception by the State, may we not hope that our improved facilities and accommodations will stimulate every true

friend of the Society to redoubled efforts and exertions for its increased prosperity."

The result has thus far more than realized these hopeful expectations; for in these four years, since January, 1866, our library has doubled its number of volumes; while the department of bound newspaper files has been increased about one-third, and the Gallery of Art over one-quarter. There have, however, been some special and unusual additions in these years, that may not very soon recur. During the year 1866 we received large and valuable donations from S. D. Carpenter, Delaplaine & Burdick, and Prof. C. H. Allen, and purchased an exceedingly desirable collection of about sixteen hundred pamphlets and documents on the rebellion. In 1867, we received from Mrs. C. L. A. Tank, a valuable collection of 5,186 volumes and pamphlets, and thirteen maps and atlases. In 1868, we obtained 2,392 British Patent Office reports furnishing a complete illustrated history of British invention for two and a half centuries. The extraordinary addition of 1869 consists in a valuable collection of 5,500 English pamphlets and documents, and nine volumes of old newspapers.

Treasury Receipts and Disbursements

The Treasurer's report shows the receipts of the year into the General Fund, including the balance on hand at its commencement, to have been $1,215.66 and the disbursements $1,127.62, leaving an unexpended balance in the General Fund of $88.04. The Binding Fund, which at the commencement of the year was $172.73, has been increased by a generous donation of a hundred dollars from Hon. Cyrus Woodman, twenty dollars each from Wm. B. Champion and T. Laidler, five dollars from Gen. James Sutherland, $50.81 from annual fees and accrued interest—showing the present total amount of this fund, $368.54.

Library Additions

The additions to the Library during the year have been 923 bound volumes, of which 539 were by donation, and 384 by purchase, and 6,240 documents and pamphlets. Of these ad-

ditions, 103 volumes are folios, and 77 quartos—making a total of 1,605 folios now in the Library, and 1,834 quartos, and 3,439 of folios and quartos together.

Progressive Library Increase

The past and present condition of the Library is shown in the following table:

Date.	Volumes added.	Documents and Pamphlets.	Both together.	Total in library.
1854, Jan. 1.....	50	.....	50	50
1855, Jan. 2.....	1,000	1,000	2,000	2,050
1856, Jan. 1.....	1,065	2,000	3,065	5,115
1857, Jan. 6.....	1,005	300	1,305	6,420
1858, Jan. 1.....	1,024	959	1,988	8,403
1859, Jan. 4.....	1,107	500	1,607	10,010
1860, Jan. 3.....	1,800	723	2,528	12,535
1861, Jan. 2.....	837	1,134	1,971	14,504
1862, Jan. 2.....	610	711	1,321	15,825
1863, Jan. 2.....	544	2,373	2,917	18,742
1864, Jan. 2.....	248	356	604	19 346
1865, Jan. 3.....	520	226	746	20,092
1866, Jan. 2.....	368	806	1,174	21,266
1867, Jan. 3.....	923	2,811	3,734	25,000
1868, Jan. 4.....	5,462	1,043	6,505	31,505
1869, Jan. 1.....	2,838	682	3,520	35,025
1870, Jan. 4.....	923	6,240	7,163	42,188
	20,324	21,864	42,188	.....

Pamphlet Additions

The large collection of mostly English pamphlets and documents purchased, deserves a passing notice. They may be classified as follows: English political history, from 1600 to 1860, 990; history and biography, 140; sermons and religious disquisitions from the year 1600 to 1800, 1033—rich in old theological literature and polemics of that early period, when so much attention was paid to such matters, and which left such a marked impress upon the English mind, and the Puritan fathers; sermons and religious disquisitions from 1800 to 1866, 1,330; almanacs from 1673 to 1859, 66; on scientific subjects, 320; poetry, 207; the drama, 71; education, 220; medical literature, 212; fiction, 11; English and Continental guide-books, 159; book catalogues, 90; miscellaneous, 130;

in the Latin language, 98; French, 72; Spanish and Italian, 37; Holland, 27; German, 26; Greek, 6.

The donated pamphlets embrace a great variety of subjects, and many of them are of the highest value in making up a general collection for reference purposes.

Library Additions and Donors

Among the principal additions of the year by purchase may be mentioned a set of the *Edinburgh Review,* from 1802–68, 128 volumes; *Scots Magazine,* 1739–1825, 97 volumes; *London Magazine,* 1732–1783, 52 volumes; 15 volumes of other bound magazines; 34 volumes of old newspaper files; Brougham's works, 10 volumes; Beatson's *Naval History of Great Britain,* 6 volumes; Dean's *History of Civilization,* 7 volumes, and many works on American and English local history. The additions to the genealogical department have been 21 volumes, local history 18 volumes, publications of historical and learned societies 17 volumes, bibliography 3 volumes.

The most valuable book donation of the year is a set of twenty-one volumes of *American State Papers,* folio, and a finely privately printed quarto volume, Bibliography of De Bry's *Voyages,* from William Menzies; Hon. S. D. Hastings has presented 19 vols. and 145 pamphlets; Gen. T. S. Allen 31 volumes and 52 pamphlets; Dr. Edward Jarvis, 15 quarto vols. of public documents of Sweden, 1859–65; *British Patent Office Reports,* from the British Government, 28 vols.; Hon. D. Worthington, 29 vols.; L. C. Draper, 18 volumes and 21 pamphlets; Hon. A. J. Craig, 15 vols. and 15 pamphlets; Gen. J. M. Rusk, 10 vols. of books, 20 vols. of unbound *Banker's Magazine,* and 24 pamphlets; W. A. Briard, 28 vols. and 6 pamphlets; G. A. Valentine, 12 vols.; Adjutant-General of Ohio, 12 vols.; Hon. B. F. Hopkins, 7 vols. and 45 pamphlets; State of Wisconsin, 12 vols. and 19 pamphlets; Gov. L. Fairchild, 2 vols. and 46 pamphlets; Rev. Dr. W. S. Perry, 7 vols. and 16 pamphlets; William Helms, 9 vols.; Prof. J. W. Hoyt, 12 vols. and 18 pamphlets; Col. Thomas Reynolds, Hon. H. D. Barron, States of Illinois and Indiana,

each 8 vols; O. S. Willey, 7 vols. and 9 pamphlets; Hon. A. S. Sandborn, 7 vols and 4 pamphlets; Hon. T. O. Howe, 6 vols. and 4 pamphlets; A. H. Main, 6 vols.; Royal Society of Antiquaries, J. Ward Dean and Hon. E. B. Dean, each 5 vols.; W. A. Croffut, 3 vols. and 22 pamphlets; Pres. P. A. Chadbourne, 3 vols. and 20 pamphlets; Prof. W. F. Allen, 4 vols. and 14 pamphlets; New England Historic-Genealogical Society, 4 vols. of *Register* and 5 pamphlets; H. L. Gray, J. L. Peyton and C. B. Newell, each 4 vols.; Robert Clarke, 3 vols. and 11 pamphlets; State of Connecticut, Adjutant General of Connecticut, W. J. Park, each 3 vols.; Col. S. V. Shipman, 2 vols. and 7 pamphlets; Georgia Historical Society, 2 vols and 2 pamphlets; C. K. Williams, 2 vols. and 8 pamphlets; J. E. A. Smith, C. Geisse, Essex Institute, R. T. McLain, Prof. J. B. Parkinson, N. S. Lewis and R. F. George, each 2 vols.; M. T. Bailey, 1 vol. and 30 pamphlets; Bangs, Merwin & Co., 1 vol. and 13 pamphlets; Miss Rachel L. Bodley, 1 vol. and 1 pamphlet; Rev. T. H. Robinson, 1 vol. and 4 pamphlets, and the following, each 1 vol.: Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, Chicago Historical Society, Maine Historical Society, American Colonization Society, Harvard College, State of Pennsylvania, B. J. Lossing, Rev. Dr. Jos. Allen, Prof. J. B. Feuling, Prof. Benj. Pierce, Rev. S. R. Riggs, Hon. T. Farrar, Hon. L. H. Morgan, Hon. James Ross, Rev. E. F. Shafter, Dr. C. Graham, Dr. H. R. Stiles, Rev. S. J. Spalding, Dr. Martin Paine, M. D. Miller, B. W. Suckow, Leavitt & Co., Charles Cowell, S. C. Clark, C. M. Thurston, E. R. Leland, J. E. Prendergrast, J. Wingate Thornton, O. N. Worden, L. B. Hills, W. H. Mitchell, W. S. Ring, G. B. Chase, M. B. Scott, Alfred Mudge, F. A. Holden, W. F. Prosser, G. Lincoln, J. H. Fitts, Jona. Tenney, G. Gilman, Thos. Allen, S. C. Cox, E. D. Harris, and T. H. Winne; Rev. D. G. Haskins, 2 vols. and 3 pamphlets.

Hon. W. E. Smith has presented 50 pamphlets, Joel Munsell 40, Ohio Historical Society 16, J. Wiley & Son 15, Hon. Arad Joy 9, Rev. Dr. G. M. Steele 9, Hon. M. H. Car-

penter and S. Hayden each 5, and twenty-three others from 1 to 3 each.

Newspaper Department

We have added, altogether, 119 volumes to 1,428 reported last year, making the present number of bound volumes in the Library 1,547, of which three were printed in the seventeenth century, 152 in the eighteenth, and the remainder in the present century. It is an invaluable collection. We may give the titles of some of the more important of the additions:

Mercurius Aulicus, 1 vol	1643–45
Rheims Gazette, 1 vol	1691–92
Spectator and Apollo, 1 vol	1709
British Mercury, 1 vol	1712–15
The World, 1 vol	1753–55
The Monitor, 2 vols	1759–63
Middlesex Journal, 1 vol	1770–72
Woodfall's Register, 1 vol	1790
London Herald, 5 vols	1803–8
London Packet, 6 vols	1808–14
Cobbett's Register, 3 vols	1817–21
The Parthenon, 1 vol	1836

The remainder are American files, and chiefly those of our own State.

Map and Atlas Department

We have added but two maps to our collection during the past year—Chapman's Sectional Map of Minnesota, from Silas Chapman, and Pocket Map of Milwaukee, from Dr. S. Compton Smith. The present number of maps and atlases is about 431.

British Patent Reports

The British Patent Office Reports ordered bound by the Legislature have been satisfactorily done, and placed upon our shelves. They furnish an almost inexhaustible source for investigation and study by thoughtful, inventive men, and we may well conclude they will prove of great value to that class of our citizens, and indirectly to all our people.

Picture Gallery

The Art Gallery has received some important additions; of our pioneers, one of Maj. C. F. Legate, from Maj. Legate;

Hon. Randall Wilcox, now forty years a resident of Wisconsin, from Mr. Wilcox; Capt. Joseph Keyes, from Hon. E. W. Keyes; of Ex-Gov. L. J. Farwell, from Mr. Farwell; of Hon. J. C. Fairchild from his children; Gen. Cassius Fairchild, from his widow; and a full-size portrait of Hon. Perry H. Smith, on a canvas four feet three inches, by five feet nine inches, painted by Frank M. Pebbles, and presented by Mr. Smith. There are now seventy-three oil paintings in the Gallery. A very fine engraving, thirty-two and a half by twenty-one and a half inches in size, of the "Death Bed of President Lincoln," from a painting by A. H. Ritchie, with correct likenesses of the persons present, from the artist; a photograph of the historian and antiquary, Col. Peter Force, from E. H. McKee, and another of the same from Gen. M. F. Force; photographs of Gen. John McNiel, a hero of the War of 1812, and his wife, and of Hon. C. E. Potter, from Mrs. Potter; a framed lithograph of the officers of the Wisconsin Editorial Association, from Hon. James Ross; and a photograph of the Norwegian Lutheran College at Decorah, Iowa, from Rev. N. C. Preus.

Additions to the Cabinet

Antiquities.—A stone axe found in the town of Madison, from D. B. Van Bergen; a stone in the shape of a child's foot, from Joseph Brown, Lodi; a copper knife, found in Barton, Washington county, from Wm. Murray; seven small glass beads, from the western coast of Ireland, identical with those in the Society's collection, found in an Indian mound, from Dr. L. G. Olmstead.

Autographs, Currency, etc.—A Chinese passport to the American ship "Far West," Wm. A. Briard, commander, Canton, May, 1852, from Capt. Briard; a deed dated in 1752, and eight private letters, picked up in Virginia in the late war, from J. N. P. Bird; a poll list of the town of Madison in 1839, printed election ticket and handbill, 1839, number of the *Wisconsin Enquirer,* Jan. 1, 1841, a number of the Fredericksburg (Va.) *Banner,* 1862, and a specimen of whittling,

from J. N. P. Bird; a $50 Confederate bill, from J. A. Byrne; $5 of Mineral Point bank, from Edw. R. George; $2 corporation bill of Salt Lake City, from E. C. Abby; a $5 bill of Government Stock Bank, of Ann Arbor, recovered from an iron safe, sunk with the steamer "Atlantic" on Lake Erie, in 170 feet water; a large book of impressions of bills of Wisconsin banks, also a similar volume of bank bills of other States, engraved by Danforth, Bald & Co.; engravings in neat gilt frame, by Rawdon, Wright & Co., of steel dies and ornaments used in printing bank bills, from Gen. J. M. Rusk.

War Relics.—An ivory sword captured from the British in the Revolutionary War, in New York, from Isaac Eaton; the sword and belt of the Colonel commanding the 12th Mississippi regiment of confederate volunteers, captured Aug. 21, 1864, before Petersburg, Va., by J. O. Johnson, commanding company H, 6th Wisconsin regiment, from Major J. F. Hauser; Arkansas war bonds and various office blanks, from Chas. J. Holt.

Natural History Specimens.—Section of a limb of a pine tree of singular formation, from J. N. P. Bird; fossil from Wauwatosa, Wis., from Rev. Mr. Rheinhardt; a specimen of native slate from Lake Superior; a small cup made of gypsum from Niagara Falls, from Alfred Harris; a large conch shell found by Theo. Euel in Taycheedah, a mile east of Lake Winnebago, in December, 1868, in a limestone ledge, 150 feet above the level of the lake, and ten feet below the surface, from John Peacock, Sheriff of Fond du Lac county; two stereoscopic pictures of a meteorite, found near Wauwatosa, Wis., from Dr. I. A. Lapham; three fine specimens of gold-bearing quartz from Bob-Tail mine, Colorado, from L. Hendrickson; a variety of gold and silver quartz from Georgetown Colorado, from J. H. Clark; a large and valuable collection of gold and silver-bearing quartz from Colorado, from Hon. W. H. Doe.

Wisconsin's Star-Spangled Banners

During the Revolutionary War, the young Moravian ladies

of Bethlehem, Pa., presented to the gallant Count Pulaski and his legion a beautiful double crimson silk banner.

"The warrior took that banner proud,
It was his martial cloak and shroud."

When the noble Pole fell at Savannah, the banner was saved by his First Lieutenant, after receiving fourteen wounds, and is now carefully preserved in a glass case in the Maryland Historical Society. But little of its former beauty remains, for its brilliant crimson has faded to a dull brownish red. Our Wisconsin war-flags, borne on every battle-field of the recent war for the Union, have each an eloquent and patriotic history. Those noble banners, deposited with the Society, are exposed to dust and decay. Will not our Legislature provide a suitable glass case for their preservation, that future generations may receive inspirations of patriotism when viewing these relics of a hundred fields of valor, strife and carnage?

Increase of Shelving Capacity

The large additions from the British Patent Reports, and the great increase in the pamphlet department, now numbering over 21,000 with a steady augmentation of other sections of the Library, rendered additional shelving imperatively necessary. Through the courtesy and ever-watchful attention of the Governor, a gallery has been provided in our east room, with shelving extending to the ceiling, furnishing additional accommodations for some 4,000 volumes. It requires no prophetic vision to anticipate that within a year or two at most, more gallery room will be required.

Cataloguing the Library

The Librarian has devoted much time and labor during the year in continuing the work of cataloguing the Library. A printed catalogue of the whole collection would prove of great utility and convenience to State officers, members of the Legislature, and historical investigators; and it is to be hoped, that the Legislature will direct its publication, perhaps in connection with the works in the State Library.

The Society's Reports and Collections

Considerable new material has accumulated, and is accumulating, for the next volume of *Collections.* Instead of issuing a third of a volume yearly as is now done, it would best subserve the wants and convenience of the Society, were the Legislature to so change the present law authorizing their publication, as to permit a full volume, of not exceeding 500 pages, to be issued every alternate year. We are still steadily gathering much of our early and pioneer history, while many a valuable narrative of our recent war history will plead for a permanent record, and a grateful recognition.

The Mission of the Society

As experience with individuals is the wisest of teachers, so with States and communities, the records of the *past* must be the lessons for the *present,* and the encouragement or warnings for the *future.* We should, therefore, treasure for ourselves, and for the enlightenment and instruction of those who succeed us, these guiding charts, these pleasing recollections, before they pass beyond our reach. The achievements of those noble pioneers who, even within the remembrance of many now living, have hewn down with dauntless heart and sturdy arm, the trackless forests; and from the lower valleys of the Fox and the Wisconsin, and from the western shores of Lake Michigan and the Rock River valley, to the northern and western portions of our State, have fitted the land, once the abode of savages and wild beasts, for the thriving, happy and industrious people who now occupy it should not be forgotten. Such adventurous men have rendered the country good service. Our gratitude for their efforts, our pride in their conquest over mind and matter, our interest and policy, should prompt and decide us to do all that we can to honor and cherish the memories and services of those who have done so much towards advancing our State to its present prosperous condition.

Nor are we alone indebted for our wondrous growth and prosperity to the bold pioneers before whom the forests have receded. Much credit should be justly accorded to the adven-

turous companies who planned and executed the noble improvements which have opened to us such boundless fields for enterprise, and have been the means of adding hundreds of millions to the real wealth of the State, and to the comforts and happiness of our people a hundred fold. These successive enterprises and improvements should be traced in all their stages, that honor may be given where honor is due—to such men as Mitchell, Kilbourn, Catlin, Crocker, A. Hyatt Smith, Clinton and Perry H. Smith; that other pioneers in the new States and Territories may be instructed and encouraged in planning and prosecuting similar objects of great public benefit as our own.

A knowledge of the germs and up-springings of those principles which lie at the basis of our social system, and of the origin of institutions which from feeble infancy have rapidly acquired the strength and vigor of maturity, and must go on ever strengthening and widening in their influence upon the destinies of our country, possesses something beyond an idle, speculative interest, and, we doubt not, this will be appreciated still more vividly as the actual occurrences recede from us in the lapse of time. Yet steps which are necessary to preserve such knowledge, are too apt to be neglected till the moment of our need, when all trace, it may be, is destroyed.

The data of our history exist mainly in the remembrances of those who must soon pass away, in the files of newspapers, in the reports of our public institutions, in the transient pamphlet productions of the times, in the correspondence and papers of our prominent citizens, and incidental references in books, magazines and public documents. These are widely scattered, inaccessible to the mass of writers and investigators, and in a very perishable form; and important historical facts, narratives and documents are lost every year for want of proper foresight and care for their preservation. It is a significant fact that, at the death of every pioneer, and every man of public spirit and enterprise, at every fire that consumes the dwelling of a prominent citizen, at the removal of every intelligent family, many pages of history are lost. Such facts should im-

press upon us the necessity of adopting such measures and extending such encouragement to the few who are able and willing in their local neighborhoods, to take upon themselves this important work, as may tend to avert all fear of our becoming a State without materials for a written history. Books, public documents, pamphlets, magazines and newspaper files, biographical notices and portraits, when attainable, of those who have well earned a place in the memory of their countrymen; statistics of public and individual enterprises and improvements of the growth and usefulness of our religious, literary and humanitarian institutions, and of our social progress and comforts; of our manufacturing, agricultural and mineral resources; the elements of our wealth and the foundation of still further greatness; incidents connected with our early history, showing the origin and progress of communities; narratives of the struggles of our hundred thousand gallant men who went forth for the salvation of the Union, with their lives in their hands and their hands raised to heaven, invoking the smiles and blessings of Him who ruleth in the affairs of men. These should form the features and the basis in all valuable historical collections, and are to be obtained only with great and persistent pains, and by those who are especially interested and devoted to the subject.

Increased State Aid Needed

Our State Historical Society has for twenty-one years been engaged in this work. With its limited means, it has done as well as could have been expected. It is safe to say, that no similar Society, without endowments, has done as well. The enhanced value of rare works on early western and American history, and the increased cost of more recent publications of merit, and needful for reference, have necessarily lessened the number of works purchased for the Library; and the additional cost of binding materials and enhancement of labor, have necessarily curtailed our ability to secure even a moiety of the most necessary binding the wants of the Society demand. Hundreds and thousands of works of reference are annually

inquired for, which we have not upon our shelves, and are unable to purchase. During the war period, we felt the necessity of getting along as well as we could upon our circumscribed means; and since the return of peace, such have been the heavy demands upon the State in completing its noble humanitarian institutions, that we have felt reluctant till now to appeal to the wisdom and generosity of the Legislature for a reasonable increase of the annual appropriations to the Society. The Library and Collections of the Society have become, to all intents and purposes, the State Library, rendering their unceasing services to the State officers, members and committees of the Legislature, presidents and professors of our colleges and universities, and to all seeking facts and information for works illustrative of the growth and prosperity of Wisconsin and the Union.

The Necessity for Endowments

Heretofore the efforts of the Society have been almost exclusively directed to the gathering of historical documents and narratives, and their publication; together with collecting a Library, a Gallery of Art, and a Cabinet of Relics and Curiosities. An occasional appeal has been made for endowment funds, without, however, producing any marked results. The friends of the Society must awake to the fact, that the interests and wants of our institution have so grown with its growth that we can no longer quietly repose on our small and inadequate State appropriations. While the State is acting, and we trust will continue to act, a generous part towards the Society, yet we can never hope for all the aid in that quarter that we really need, and it becomes the part of wisdom for the friends of the Society manfully to grapple with this imperative need, and set out securing both a Binding and General Fund—trust funds, to be well invested, and the income only used for the specific purposes for which they shall be set apart.

Let us look, for a moment, at the strength and pecuniary resources of some of the principal Historical and Antiquarian Societies of the country, and we shall cease to wonder at their

advancement, and that we are actually lagging behind in the race for rank, prosperity, and usefulness.

The New York Historical Society, which had 25,000 volumes in its Library fifteen years ago, and has very largely increased since, with Picture Gallery of 517 oil paintings, has considerable of an endowment, and had an income of $13,600 in the year 1863, which has probably increased since that date.

The Long Island Historical Society, incorporated so recently as April, 1863, has a Library of 17,280 volumes, 20,000 pamphlets, 19 oil paintings, 600 bound newspaper files, and an endowment of over $60,000, which, with its annual membership dues, produce an annual income of nearly $10,000.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has a Library of 18,000 volumes, 30,000 pamphlets, 737 bound newspaper files, 81 oil paintings, and an endowment amounting to something like $60,000, with an apparent annual income of some $6,000. That generous benefactor of his race, George Peabody, gave that society $20,000; and Samuel Appleton and Thomas Dowse each gave $10,000.

The American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Massachusetts, has 50,000 volumes in its Library, besides a very large collection of pamphlets, 2,484 bound newspaper files, 28 oil paintings, and endowment funds amounting to nearly $70,000, with an annual income of some $5,500. Hon. Stephen Salisbury, next to its founder, Isaiah Thomas, has been its most generous benefactor.

The Maryland Historical Society has a Library of 13,000 volumes, a fine collection of historical manuscripts, and old newspaper files, an endowment of nearly $24,000, which with its membership dues, yields an annual income of over $6,000.

The Pennsylvania Historical Society has a Library of 15,000 volumes, about 75,000 pamphlets, 450 bound files of newspapers, 78 oil paintings, an endowment of nearly $30,000, and an annual income of about $3,500. Elliott Cresson and Hon. Henry D. Gilpin were its principal benefactors.

The Chicago Historical Society, which had in December,

1862, 11,724 volumes, 42,113 pamphlets, and quite a large collection of newspaper files has some endowment.

The Iowa State Historical Society has evinced so much energy in gathering a Library, and in collecting and publishing its early historical annals, that the legislature of that State, in 1868, increased the appropriation to that Society, from $500 to $3,500 a year.

The Maine and New Jersey Historical Societies, and the New England Historic Genealogical Society have severally commenced the founding of endowment funds.

It will thus be seen, that the most successful Historical Societies of the country are liberally endowed—have their trust funds, and their specific annual incomes, upon which they can rely for means to augment their Libraries and collections. Without such endowments these societies could have accomplished but little. Without similar endowment funds our Society will be stinted and crippled in all its efforts and aspirations. Our aim should be to secure a Binding Fund of not less than five thousand dollars, and a General Fund of not less than fifty thousand dollars. These obtained, we can add very much to our historical literature, and secure more generally than we now do of the teeming volumes on science and current literature, and render more accessible the nearly twenty-two thousand pamphlets and unbound documents on our shelves, and many a valuable volume of magazines and other miscellaneous works. We should then better subserve all the growing and incessant demands upon us for works of reference upon almost every conceivable subject. How can such wants be supplied with the paltry sum of what is left of a thousand dollars a year, after paying for binding the more important newspaper files and serials, freight charges, and incidental expenses generally?

We repeat, that endowment funds *we must have.* We must earnestly and persistently seek donations, bequests and pledges —pledges payable one-fifth annually till paid. If each friend of the Society will regard this appeal as addressed personally to himself, and will do the best he can, we may confidently

hope to succeed. The Society may not find a Peabody, a Dowse, an Appleton, a Salisbury, a Cresson, or a Gilpin, to bestow liberal donations upon it; yet we may fondly hope to find equally as generous friends in proportion to their ability, whose aggregate gifts may serve to make the endowment funds upon which our future success so much depends.

Seventeenth Annual Report of the Executive Committee

Submitted January 3, 1871

In one of the last public addresses of Daniel Webster—that before the New York Historical Society, February 23d, 1852—that profound scholar and statesman declared, that the object of historical societies is highly important. "Historical Societies," said he, "are auxiliary to historical compositions. They collect the materials from which the great narrative of events is, in due time, to be framed. The transactions of public bodies, local histories, memoirs of all kinds, statistics, laws, ordinances, public debates and discussions, works of periodical literature, and the public journals, whether of political events, of commerce, literature, or the arts all find their places in the collection of historical societies. But these collections are not history; they are only elements of history."

Passing over the first five years of the existence of this Society, in its embryo state, we may truthfully assert that during the past seventeen years, since its reorganization in January, 1854, it has been the earnest, persistent aim of its managers to gather those very materials, and to fulfill those high and important offices, so well described by the pre-eminent statesmen of New England as peculiarly the province of an historical society. No personal hobbies, no special departments, have been fostered to the neglect and exclusion of others; but all, whether pertaining to history, science, statistics, or solid literature, have equally received our unremitting attention. No sectarian feelings, no political prejudices, have turned us aside from the high purpose we have had in view—to provide for all classes of honest and earnest investigators, facts and information upon almost all conceivable subjects of interest, profit and culture. We may

be pardoned for commending this unselfish example to our successors.

Our appeal to the last Legislature for an increased annual appropriation, met with a prompt and liberal response. Our means are still quite limited, when compared with those of the most successful kindred institutions of our country, or when compared with the pressing demands for standard works of reference in almost every department of literature; yet we have been enabled, by this timely increase of our means, to purchase many more books for the Library than in any former year—and not a few of them of great rarity and value, of limited editions, and difficult of procurement, thus strengthening and augmenting the several departments embraced in our collections. Our last Library report was swelled by the purchase of a large and interesting collection of several thousand pamphlets. While the aggregate of both books and documents is not as large the past as in the preceding year, yet it will be observed that the increase in books alone is gratifyingly large —nearly two thousand reported this year against nine hundred last. These new additions of a rare and valuable character, serving to fill up many gaps, have been more numerous than in any preceding year of the Society's history.

Treasury Receipts and Disbursements

The Treasurer's report exhibits the receipts of the year into the General Fund, including the small balance on hand, to have been $3,588.04, and the disbursements therefrom, $3,341.40, leaving an unexpended balance of $246.64. The Binding Fund, which was reported last year at $368.52, has been increased by a twenty dollar life membership fee from Col. Thomas Reynolds, and from annual dues and accrued interest, so that it now amounts to $458.07. A special fund for so deserving an object, ought to meet with more favor and encouragement at the hands of the friends of the Society than has hitherto been accorded to it.

Library Additions

The additions of the year have been 1,970, of which 1,270

were acquired by donation, and 700 by purchase; and 1,372 documents and pamphlets. Of the book additions, 56 volumes are folios, and 241 quartos—making a total of 1,661 folios now in the Library, and 2,075 quartos, and 3,736 folios and quartos together.

Progressive Library Increase

The past and present condition of the Library is shown in the following table:

Date.	Volumes added.	Documents and Pamphlets.	Both together.	Total in Library.
1854, Jan. 1.....	50	.....	50	50
1855, Jan. 2.....	1,000	1,000	2,000	2,050
1856, Jan. 1.....	1,065	2,000	3,065	5,115
1857, Jan. 6.....	1,005	300	1,305	6,420
1858, Jan. 1.....	1,024	959	1,988	8,403
1859, Jan. 4.....	1,107	500	1,607	10,010
1860, Jan. 3.....	1,800	723	2,528	12,535
1861, Jan. 2.....	837	1,134	1,971	14,504
1862, Jan. 2.....	610	711	1,321	15,825
1863, Jan. 2.....	544	2,373	2,917	18,742
1864, Jan. 2.....	248	356	604	19,346
1865, Jan. 3.....	520	226	746	20,092
1866, Jan. 2.....	368	806	1,174	21,266
1867, Jan. 3.....	923	2,811	3,734	25,000
1868, Jan. 4.....	5,462	1,043	6,505	31,505
1869, Jan. 1.....	2,838	682	3,520	35,025
1870, Jan. 4.....	923	6,240	7,163	42,188
1871, Jan. 3.....	1,970	1,372	3,342	45,530
	22,294	23,336	45,530	

Library Additions and Donors

Prominent among the Library additions of the year may be enumerated the following:

British Quarterly Review from its commencement in 1809 to 1867 inclusive, 122 vols.; *Universal Magazine,* 1749–92, 38 vols.; Hansard's *Parliamentary History of England,* from 1066 to 1803, 36 vols.; Camden Society *Publications,* being reprints of exceedingly rare and curious books, and publications of inedited MSS., with copious notes, 46 quarto volumes; Calendar of State Papers of Great Britain, and Early Chronicles and Memorials of English History, 162 vols., of which 60 are quartos; British Patent Office *Reports* and *Specifications,* 234 vols.; Phil-

adelphia *Bulletin*, 1861–65, and Philadelphia *Inquirer*, two daily papers covering the entire period of the war, 15 vols. folio; Querard's *Bibliography*, 10 vols.; *Pamphleteer*, 1813–25, 25 vols.; *Returns of British Forces in America*, 1766–83, 10 vols.; Meyrick's *Heraldic Visitations of Wales*, 1586–1613, 2 vols. folio; *New Collection of Voyages and Travels*, 7 vols.; Lewis's *England and Wales*, 7 vols., quarto; Fuller's *Worthies of England*, 3 vols.; Tytler's *History of Scotland*, 10 vols.; Strickland's *Queens of England*, 12 vols.; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, 7 vols.; Lossing's *History of the Rebellion*, 3 vols.; Hamilton Club *Series*, 4 vols.; Prince Society *Publications*, 6 vols.; Seventy-six Society *Publications*, completing the series, 2 vols.; and *Calendars of New York Colonial and Revolutionary MSS.*, 4 vols.

Among the rare and desirable works on American history, may be mentioned:

Smith's *History of New Jersey*, Haywood's *Tennessee*, McCall's *Georgia*, Smith's *Canada*, Hamor's *Virginia*, Bradford's *Massachusetts*, Mather's *Magnalia*, *Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church*, Moultrie and Drayton's works on the Revolutionary War in South Carolina, Jogues' *Novum Belgium*, 1643–4, Stevens' *Historical and Geographical Notes*, 1453-1530, Drake's *Five years French and Indian Wars*, 1744–49, Colden's *History of the Five Nations*, *Correspondence of Henry Laurens*, Deane's Edition of Smith's *Relation of Virginia*, Withers's *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, *Memoirs of Gen. Heath*, and six works on the history and proceedings of the Society of the Cincinnati.

Works on Science and Kindred Subjects.—Wilson's *American Ornithology*, original edition nine vols., folio, 1808–14; Samuels' *Ornithology and Oology of New England;* the *Rosetta Stone*, quarto; Morton's *Crania*, quarto; Kenrick's *Archæology;* Fosbrooke's *Encyclopedia of Antiquities and Archæology*, 2 vols., quarto; *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society, 3 vols., quarto; Smithsonian *Publications*, 3 vols.; Association for the Advancement of Science, 2 vols.; Chicago Academy of Science, 1 vol.; U. S. Naval Observatory, 4 vols.; Shea's *Library of American Linguistics*, vocabularies of our Indian

languages, a complete set, 13 vols., quarto; Brinton's *Grammar of the Choctaw Language; American Repertory of Arts and Science,* 4 vols.; *Scientific American,* 1 vol.; Walter's *Flora Caroliniana;* American Philosophical Society, 5 vols.; American Geographical Society, 4 vols.

Works of Historical and other Learned Societies.—Besides those of the Camden, Seventy-Six, Prince, Smithsonian, American Philosophical, British Royal and American Geographical Societies, and the Hamilton Club, already mentioned; we may enumerate from the Society of Northern Antiquaries, 4 vols.; Roxburghe Club *Publications,* 7 vols.; *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, 5 vols.; *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society, 6 vols.; *Proceedings* of the New York Historical Society, 4 vols.; New Hampshire Historical Society, 2 vols.; Long Island Historical Society, 2 vols.; and Vermont Historical Society, 1 vol.

To the Department of Genealogy, there have been added 51 volumes, making that interesting collection now aggregate 304 vols.; 23 vols., in Bibliography, swelling the total of that department to 180 vols.; 75 vols. on Local American History; 51 on the Revolutionary War; 15 on the North American Indians, besides the works already enumerated devoted to their languages; 10 on the Rebellion; 38 vols. of American magazines, and 11 copies of the Bible and New Testament in foreign languages.

Cyclopedia and Reference Department.—There have been added: *Encyclopedia Perthensis,* 23 vols.; *Edinburgh Encyclopedia,* 18 vols. quarto; the *American Encyclopedia,* 13 vols.; and a new volume of *Appleton's Annual.*

The sources from which the book donations have been derived are:

The British Government, Patent Office 234 vols., Rolls Office, 160 vols., of which 60 were quartos, together 394 vols.; Interior Department, Washington, through the efforts of Hon. David Atwood, complete sets of Senate and House Documents, from the commencement of the 36th Congress to the

present time, 326 vols., of which 22 were quartos, and to be regularly continued hereafter; Boston Public Library, 130 vols.; State of Wisconsin, 60 vols., besides a large number for exchanges; Hon. T. O. Howe, 29 vols.; Hon. D. Atwood, 24 vols.; Dr. E. Jarvis, 12 vols.; D. Fisher, a valuable set of Querard's *Dictionaire Bibliographique*, 1828–43, 10 vols.; Rev. S. Reynolds, editions of the Bible in foreign languages, 10 vols.; Hon. M. H. Carpenter, 10 vols.; A. Hawley, 10 vols.; Jos. Sabin & Sons, 9 vols.; Hon. Ll. Breese and State of Maine, each 7 vols.; R. Blanchard and J. S. Homans, each 6 vols.; Robert Clarke, 5 vols., of which 3 are of his valuable Ohio Valley series of pioneer history; Gen. W. H. H. Davis, 4; Prof. W. F. Allen, W. P. Garrison, C. N. Holden, and Regents of New York University, 3 each—one of the volumes from Mr. Holden being a superb work of Biographical Sketches of the Leading Men of Chicago, illustrated with 111 photographs; E. T. Corwin, W. A. Croffut, Prof. J. E. Davis, L. C. Draper, D. S. Durrie, L. Fairchild, W. C. Fowler, Dr. S. A. Greene, E. D. Harris, Prof. J. W. Hoyt, J. G. Shea, E. Sanford, J. Wingate Thornton, Chicago Historical Society, and State of Massachusetts, 2 each; J. P. Prendergast, a copy each of the two editions of his able work on the Cromwellian Settlement in Ireland; and one volume each from W. S. Appleton, Atwood & Culver, H. S. Baird, N. M. Baker, J. F. Bowne, Dr. Brinton, late Hon. A. J. Craig, Hon. John Catlin, C. P. Chapman, Hon. E. Cornell, N. E. Edwards, D. W. Fowler, Dr. E. J. Forster, T. W. Field, W. H. Gray, Capt. W. F. Goodwin, E. H. Goss, Dr. A. Ghirardini, J. F. Hunnewell, A. A. Humphrey, Rev. I. Jennings, A. Lawrence, Rev. J. Lawrence, I. A. Lapham, L. Llwyfo, Loring & Atkinson, Marder & Luse, C. C. Martin, N. H. Morgan, Wm. Paltfield, Capt. G. H. Preble, J. E. Price, S. B. Robinson, M. A. Stickney, Rev. G. M. Steele, Rev. Dr. M. Schuyler, John Tagg, Mrs. W. H. Tucker, A. P. Wainerd, R. Winkoop, Hon. C. H. Walker, Rev. Lyman Whiting, T. H. Winne, Albany

Institute, Chicago Franklin Society, Coast Survey Bureau, Connecticut Historical Society, New York Homœpathic Society, and Wisconsin Agricultural Society.

Pamphlet Editions and Donors

The additions of the year to this department have been larger than usual, except on a few extraordinary occasions, and they have been of a very desirable character. Lord Macauley, the great historian of England, said that while it would be impossible to find books on many subjects, there is no subject however trivial, on which you would not find a tract or pamphlet. Our pamphlet department furnishes many an evidence of the justness of this remark; and since our collection is grouped together by subjects, and we have commenced the important work of having them substantially bound, they will prove not only more accessible, but far more useful.

During the year there have been 512 pamphlets purchased, of a select and historical character, mostly relating to town centennial addresses, Indian affairs, etc., while the donors of the year have been:

Hon. T. O. Howe, 203; Rev. H. O. Sheldon, 130; Hon. David Atwood, 93; Dr. S. A. Greene, 53; New York State Library, 42; L. C. Draper, 34; Hon. Ll. Breese, 26; Joel Munsell, 23; Hon. M. H. Carpenter, 22; Dr. E. Jarvis, 21; Gov. L. Fairchild and Hon. P. Sawyer, 20 each; Fred A. Whitney, 19; J. H. Tesch, 16; W. P. Lunt, 14; Chicago and Northwestern Railway, 12; D. S. Durrie, 9; D. B. Hicks, 8; Rev. J. C. C. Clark, 5; Chicago Historical Society, J. B. Eugene, Robert Clarke, A. R. Fulton, R. Blanchard and Gen. F. J. Porter, 4 each; Prof. W. F. Allen, W. A. Croffut, Hon. H. D. Barron and Licking County (Ohio) Historical Society, 3 each; E. P. Dorr, Iowa Historical Society, Minnesota Historical Society, New Jersey Historical Society, Rev. Dr. Brown, Rev. Dr. W. S. Perry, Major A. H. Latour, Miss A. M. Hemenway, Hon. C. I. Walker, N. E. Historical and Genealogical Society, C. N. Holden, Samuel Park and Mil-

waukee and Prairie du Chien Railway, 2 each; and one each from P. F. Hunnewell, E. R. Leland, Rev. C. H. Richards, Rev. Mr. Grout, Miss E. C. Jay, Geo. Clarke, Georgia Historical Society, Albany Y. M. Association, New York State Library, D. Y. Kilgore, J. L. Williams, Peabody Institute of Baltimore, Ex-Gov. Wm. Walker, J. M. Drake, Hon. A. Rawson, Rev. Dr. T. W. Chambers, Rev. Dr. Pohlman, Boston Public Library, L. E. Mills, Hon. C. Allen and Rev. E. M. Stone.

British Government Publications

Having heretofore spoken of the great value of the British Patent Office Reports in stimulating the inventive genius of our people, it is not necessary to enlarge upon the subject in connection with the 234 added volumes to the department—making altogether in that collection, with index volumes of subjects and references, all bound, and upon our shelves, 2,626 volumes.

The 162 volumes of Rolls' Office Publications, received during the past year, obtained through the courtesy of Hon. John Lothrop Motley, together with the sixty-five volumes received from the same office several years since—making together 227 volumes, and one added volume by purchase—deserve more than a mere passing notice. Whatever relates to English history, her colonies, her primitive manners and customs, and the genealogy of her families, has an intimate relation with American history, genealogy and habits of thought. In all our American history there is so intimate a blending of our own with the annals of the fatherland, that our growth and progress cannot be properly delineated without constant reference to these blending relations. To trace these to their original sources, we must necessarily resort to these Record Publications of Great Britain, published and disseminated by her munificent liberality. These records extend as far back as the fifth century, and relate to English history, public records, ancient laws and jurisprudence of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, domestic habits and customs of the people, early

chronicles and ecclesiastical records, colonial affairs, and upon almost every subject of public policy pertaining to all the great historic periods of Great Britain. We cannot sufficiently express our high appreciation of these invaluable records, and of our gratitude to the British Government for them.

Newspaper Department

To the 1,547 volumes of bound newspaper files we reported last year, we have added 54 volumes—but one of the number published in the last century—making the present total number 1,601 volumes, of which three were printed in the seventeenth century, 153 in the eighteenth, and the remainder in the present century.

This department is one of the very best in the country, and unquestionably the largest anywhere to be found west of the Alleghanies. Its value and importance are constantly becoming more and more apparent. Nothing keeps up with, and coincides so much with the spirit of the times as newspapers, and the next age, to get the best idea of the present, need not resort to histories, but to files of old newspapers. If they do not get the facts altogether ungarbled, nevertheless they will get the tone, the undercurrent of feeling, which is essential to understand fully any history, and which will teach far more than the mere detail of facts. They will thus serve in the future the same purpose, as respects this age, as the private journals of the last several centuries now serve as respects that primitive period.

We are in regular receipt of 80 newspaper publications of Wisconsin, and 9 from other States—of which 7 are dailies; we also receive one quarterly, ten monthlies, and one semi-monthly. These together form an invaluable addition to our periodical department.

Map and Atlas Department

From Rufus Blanchard we have received a map of the western part of the United States in 1795, a map of the United States, 1854, and 14 maps of the Western States; from Col. J.

W. Barlow, U. S. A., 45 maps of battle-fields of the late war, an interesting and valuable collection; from L. C. Draper, 5 maps of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, 1735–60; from Jos. Sabin & Sons, a R. R. map of England and Scotland, and a map of Liverpool; a map of Maryland, 1732, and a map of Virginia, 1735, purchased—making the addition of the year 70, and the total present number of maps and atlases, 501.

Expansion—New Gallery

In our last report, mention was made of the new gallery Governor Fairchild had ordered for the east room of the Library, and that it required no prophetic vision to anticipate that another within a year or two would become as imperative a necessity. The steady increase of all the departments required further shelving capacity, and the Governor promptly directed a gallery and shelving in the west room, to correspond with the other. This gives us room for some 4,000 additional volumes. It will not probably be very long before we shall be clamoring for more shelves for our accumulating stores of historic lore and literary wealth.

Cataloguing the Library

The Librarian and assistant have accomplished large and gratifying results in the important work of cataloguing the Library. Besides a large number of books, some 9,000 pamphlets have been catalogued during the year, and the volumes in which they have been bound, or the covers in which temporarily placed, properly indexed. The work of cataloguing pamphlets has been assigned to Miss Durrie, and she has not only performed the labor with painstaking faithfulness, but has accomplished considerably more, upon an average daily, than is ordinarily done by those engaged in similar work.

The need of a printed catalogue is too apparent to require an array of facts and arguments. With such a help, any investigator, any legislative committee, seeking facts on any given subject, would be able at once to see what the Library possessed in that line. It would prove an invaluable aid—

such an one as no considerable public library can ever dispense with; and we trust the Legislature will authorize its preparation for early publication.

The Society's Reports and Collections

It will become the duty of the Society to ask the Legislature to so change the present law, authorizing the publication of its *Reports* and *Collections*, that instead of issuing, as at present, a part of 150 pages a year, we may publish a volume every alternate year. Our historical accumulations, since issuing the fifth volume in 1868, are already more than sufficient for a new volume—probably enough for two volumes; and, we may add, they embrace materials of the highest historical interest to our State and people.

The Gallery of Art

There has been but a single new oil portrait added to the gallery the past year—that of Capt. Gilbert Knapp, the pioneer settler of Racine, and one of the early lawgivers of the Territory. It is a good painting, executed by Thurston Black, of Detroit, and presented by Capt. Knapp. There are now seventy-four oil paintings in the gallery. But in the sister department of sculpture we have been favored with an interesting and valuable marble bust of Hon. Alexander Mitchell, of Milwaukee—one who has done much for the substantial growth and prosperity of Wisconsin, in pioneering some of the most important enterprises and improvements, not only linking together all portions of our own State, but reaching out the arms of improvement to the newer States and Territories of the boundless west. Such men are public benefactors, and deserve to be held in grateful remembrance. Of this work of art, we cannot better speak than by adopting the language of Maj. J. O. Culver:

"It came directly from Rome. It is the finest Carrara marble, and fresh from the chisel of F. B. Ives, an American sculptor well known in art circles, and to the admirers of sculpture in this country and in Europe. We recall the names

of none of his works save 'Ariadne,' an ideal bust of that most unlucky daughter of a king; a statue of 'Flora,' and a statue of 'Undine,' which was exhibited in St. Louis in 1863, is, we believe, one of his works.

"The bust of Mr. Mitchell is mounted on a pedestal of clouded marble, with a revolving top, which the spectator can turn at will, and thus secure the proper light. The position given the head is dignified, easy, and so natural that the features are life-like. For fidelity of expression, clearly representing the subject, so far as can be done in marble, as well as for completeness of conception and finish, we think it will receive the praise of the critical and appreciative. We can see that full development of brain, of the perceptive faculties, the expression of firmness that have made Mr. Mitchell what he is to-day. Not only the outward semblance, but the index of the mind is here revealed to the careful student—in the finest of Carrara marble, pure in color and delicately transparent. It is a substantial and costly present, which is highly valued by the Society."

Cabinet Additions

The following have been received:

Antiquities.—A flint arrow head, from A. E. Terry, Primrose; a piece of oak from Independence Hall, Philadelphia, from S. L. Chase.

Autographs, etc.—MS. sermon of Rev. James Swain, of Wenham, Mass., Dec. 4, 1755, from Hon. G. G. Swain; MS. love letter of Elisha Paddock, dated Boston, Sept. 5, 1759, neatly framed, from N. W. Fuller; facsimile of a will of Thos. Bradbury, 1693, from Capt. W. F. Goodwin; a writ of a North Carolina Court, dated Nov. 10, 1769, from Hon. N. M. Royce; an inspection return, of Capt. B. R. Pierce's company of U. S. artillery, at Mackinaw, in 1817, from Mrs. H. S. Baird; census return taken in 1830, of the heads of all families in Brown county, Michigan, then embracing half of the territory of the present State of Wisconsin, from Hon. H. S. Baird.

Indian Curiosities.—A red clay pipe, used by the Winnebago chief Dandy, from Hon. J. T. Kingston.

Natural History Specimens.—A section of Mexican cactus, from Ft. Craig, New Mexico, from E. C. Abby; calcareous tufa, from Stillwater, Minn., from W. S. Seavey; fibrous roots of an apple tree which had penetrated the wall of a cistern in Janesville, from J. S. Parker.

Paper Money, Coin, etc.—Eight Continental bills, issued in 1776–79, from Hon. Stephen Taylor; French Assignat, 1792, from Prof. R. F. George; $5 bill, Lancaster Bank, Pa., and $2, Commercial Bank, Perth Amboy, N. J., from Hon. N. Brick; $100 Confederate bond, Hon. N. Beach; $5, Union Bank, Monticello, N. Y., from E. B. Rice; ein rich thaler, silver, from Hon. R. E. Davis, a silver three cent piece, Victoria, and an Austrian three cent piece, from Charles Willis, and 17 U. S. and Canadian copper coin.

Photographs.—Photographs of six surviving soldiers of the War of 1812, now residents of Wisconsin, from the members of the Legislature, by Hon. J. R. Crocker; photograph of Gov. Fairchild, and frame, and of the Legislature of Wisconsin, of 1870, from E. R. Curtiss.

War Relics.—Lithograph of South Carolina Ordinance of Secession, from Capt. H. A. Chase; signatures of Confederate Generals, from D. Holt; two iron shells from battle-field of Shiloh, from Hon. E. W. Keyes; a coffee-cup, of pottery ware, used during the war in a hotel at Little Rock, Ark., from Mrs. W. J. Gordon.

Miscellaneous.—An octavo sized Bible, printed in 1829, on which Gov. Dodge and the U. S. Territorial Judges were sworn into office, in 1836, from J. S. Horner; arms of Goodwin and Bradbury families, from Capt. W. F. Goodwin; steel engraving of Rev. Stephen Peet, from his daughter, Miss Martha Peet; Hubbard Family Ancestral Register, two sheets and two circulars, from E. Hubbard; an ingeniously constructed model of a derrick and machinery for drilling oil wells in Pennsylvania, with a variety of specimens of

sand rock found at various depths at Shamburg, Venango Co., Pa., from E. C. Bell.

A beautiful and clear wax impression of the broad seal of gold, two and a half inches in diameter, taken from Charles the Bold, of Burgundy, with other spoils, at the battle of Granson, Switzerland, in 1477, which is preserved in the Library at Lucerne, beautifully cut, and as bright as if just made; a copy of a printed parole which the French officers signed, who surrendered to the Prussians at Strasbourg, during the autumn past, obtained at Gen. Werder's headquarters; a copy of the first newspaper issued in Strasbourg, after its surrender to the Prussians, dated Oct. 2, 1870; and the charred fragments of a piece of a page of a book, picked up from the ruins of the great Library of Strasbourg, all from Hon. Horace Rublee. In connection with the wax impression of the seal of Charles the Bold, Mr. Rublee writes:

"The Librarian of the Library of Lucerne took the impression and gave it to me, which I transmit to the State Historical Society. The battle of Granson, you will remember, where the gold medal was taken from Charles the Bold, was fought some years before the discovery of America by Columbus. Many of the spoils there taken are still preserved. Here in Berne we have Charles' best velvet cloak, a pair of his shoes, the tapestry of his tent—very curious. The Librarian who gave me this impression told me that his grandfather was Librarian when the French troops took Lucerne, in 1798, and saved the seal by throwing it behind the shelves of books. Afterwards he could not remember the precise place where he had thrown it, and it was a long time before he succeeded in finding it. The incident shows one of the characteristics of the people here, the grandson holding to-day the same position that his father and grandfather held before him.

"I thought of you recently in visiting a library at St. Gall, in Switzerland, and of the pleasure it would give you to examine the magnificent collection of manuscripts it contains. It was founded by the abbots of St. Gall, and still belongs to

the Catholics. There is still preserved a catalogue of books made in the *eighth century,* and some 400 MSS. mentioned in it are yet in the Library. It also includes many manuscripts of the middle ages, some of them exquisitely illuminated.

"I trust the Historical Society continues to prosper, and that the people of Madison, and of the State, will never cease to take a lively interest in promoting its welfare."

Necessity for Endowments

With the expansion of population, and the increase of educational facilities, we find a steady increase in the demand for books for reference purposes. This fact should stimulate the friends of the Society to secure endowment funds,—at least a Binding and a General Fund;—for while the State has most liberally increased its annual appropriation to the Society, yet we stand sadly in need of endowments, to furnish us with additional means of usefulness. Our Binding Fund is very slowly increasing—its very smallness ought to appeal to the generosity of our friends to render it at once a source of substantial benefit. While we hope our friends will remember the Society in the way of bequests and legacies, we yet earnestly entreat those who can, to make benefactions to this fund without delay, and have the gratification of seeing its good fruits while yet sojourning on the shores of Time.

The Society's Prosperity

It is but proper to remark, in conclusion, that the Society was never in so prosperous a condition—and never imparting so many benefits as now. The Library additions have been large, varied and of unusual importance. We have during the past year, for the first, commenced a systematic course of binding pamphlets and documents, which, including some historical and scientific works, magazines, newspaper files and British Patent Office Reports, have reached 817 volumes. A new gallery and shelving have been added; and a fine case for the war flags of our State has been provided, in which to preserve these interesting relics from dust and injury. Our collection

has been enriched by the addition of a marble bust of one of our Society's Vice Presidents, and one of the State's most honored and useful citizens, and the Legislature gave an order to Wisconsin's promising young sculptor, E. P. Knowles, to execute a bust of our pioneer Governor Dodge. And last, not least, the Legislature, having increased the annual appropriation to the Society, enables us to supply many works of rare merit, prosecute the cataloguing of the Library with augmented force, and procure the much-needed binding of several hundred volumes of books, pamphlets and periodicals. For these manifold evidences of prosperity and usefulness, let us thank God and take courage.

Eighteenth Annual Report of the Executive Committee

Submitted January 2, 1872

Your Secretary, at the meeting for the reorganization of this Society, in January, 1854, when it had, after five years of efforts, or rather with putting forth scarcely any effort, secured but fifty volumes, suggested that, with proper union and energy, he thought the Society might hope to secure an annual increase of 500 volumes. It is not strange that the suggestion was regarded as somewhat wild and chimerical; yet those who participated in that meeting seemed quite willing tacitly to say, "we'll try."

At the end of the first year we reported 2,050 volumes and documents, and then secured rooms in a church basement for our better accommodation, where we remained eleven years; whence, in January, 1866, our 21,000 volumes and documents were transferred to these ampler and more fitting apartments. During the six years of our sojourn here, the Library has steadily augmented till it now numbers over 50,000 volumes and documents.

These rich results of eighteen years' efforts are sufficiently gratifying to us all, and all the more so, when we compare these results with those of some of the older and most successful kindred institutions of our country. The Massachusetts Historical Society, founded in 1791, has about 50,000 volumes and pamphlets as the fruits of eighty years' labors. The New York Historical Society, founded in 1804, and now sixty-eight years in existence, had 35,000 volumes several years ago, and has since considerably increased its collections. The American Antiquarian Society has accumulated during the sixty years since it was founded, in 1812, over 50,000 volumes, besides a large collection of pamphlets. The Pennsylvania Historical

Society, founded in 1825, has in its forty-seven years' labors, gathered 15,000 volumes, and 75,000 pamphlets.

The average increase of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the pioneer institution of the kind in the country, has been 625 volumes, while ours, since its reorganization, has averaged 2,800; and, during the past six years, but little short of 5,000 annually.

Financial Condition—Binding Fund

The Treasurer's report shows the receipts of the year into the General Fund, including the small balance on hand, to have been $3,746.64, and the disbursements $3,648.35, leaving an unexpended balance of $98.29. Of this expenditure, $699.92 were for cataloguing the Library, freight charges, and incidental expenses; while $2,948.43 were expended for books, magazines, reviews, newspapers, and binding—all tending directly to augment and improve the Library in all its departments.

Last year the Binding Fund was reported at $458.07. During the year, two Life Membership fees, of $20 each, from Gen. James Sutherland and Chandler P. Chapman, a donation of $25 from S. Alofsen, Esq., of New Jersey, a faithful friend of the Society, the sale of some duplicate books, the annual dues, and accrued interest, have increased this fund to $656.38.

Library Additions

The book additions of the year have been 1,211, of which 335 were by donation, and 876 by purchase—the largest number by purchase in any one year of the Society's existence; and 3,780 pamphlets and documents, of which 1,770 were by donation and exchange, and 2,019 by purchase—making the total additions of books and pamphlets, 5,000. Of the book additions, 46 were folios, and 109 quartos—making a total of 1,717 folios now in the Library, and 2,184 quartos, and 3,901 folios and quartos together.

Progressive Library Increase

The past and present condition of the Library is shown in the following table:

Date.	Volumes added.	Documents and pamphlets.	Both together.	Total in Library.
1854, Jan. 1.....	50	.....	50	50
1855, Jan. 2.....	1,000	1,000	2,000	2,050
1856, Jan. 1.....	1,065	2,000	3,065	5,115
1857, Jan. 6.....	1,005	300	1,305	6,420
1858, Jan. 1.....	1,024	959	1,988	8,403
1859, Jan. 4.....	1,107	500	1,607	10,010
1860, Jan. 3.....	1,800	723	2,528	12,535
1861, Jan. 2.....	837	1,134	1,971	14,504
1862, Jan. 2.....	610	711	1,321	15,825
1863, Jan. 2.....	544	2,373	2,917	18,742
1864, Jan. 2.....	248	356	604	19,346
1865, Jan. 3.....	520	226	746	20,092
1866, Jan. 2.....	368	806	1,174	21,266
1867, Jan. 3.....	923	2,811	3,734	25,000
1868, Jan. 4.....	5,462	1,043	6,505	31,505
1869, Jan. 1.....	2,838	682	3,520	35,025
1870, Jan. 4.....	923	6,240	7,163	42,188
1871, Jan. 3.....	1,970	1,372	3,342	45,530
1872, Jan. 2.....	1,211	3,789	5,000	50,530
	23,505	27,025	50,530	.....

Additions and Donors

The book additions have been largely of an important character, many of them works not often found, and others so extensive and costly as to prevent their purchase by individuals; and thus they find their appropriate place in a public collection, where all can freely consult them. Another peculiarity of the additions of the past year, is an unusually large proportion of works relating to the early history, science and genealogy of Great Britain—the land of most of our forefathers, and with which our own history and genealogy are so intimately blended, and all our investigations in this direction must necessarily be traced to the standard works issued by the British press, many of them on a large and almost exhaustive scale, within the last half century.

Among the more important additions of the year, the following may be enumerated: Almon's *Remembrancer,* 17 vol-

umes, complete, London, 1775–84, giving the documents and reports of both sides of our Revolutionary War, a work of great rarity and inestimable value; *Christian Examiner,* 71 volumes, 1824–66; *Transactions* of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, 45 volumes, London, 1806-27; *Transactions* of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 37 volumes, complete, 1835–69; *Transactions* of the British Association for the Promotion of Social Science, 13 volumes, complete, 1866-70; *Transactions* of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 2 additional volumes; *Archæologia Cambrensis, or Antiquities of Wales,* 23 volumes; *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of England, 12 additional volumes, quarto; *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, 10 volumes, quarto; *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of New Castle-on-Tyne, 10 volumes, of which 4 volumes are quartos; *Transactions* of the Essex Archæological Society, 4 volumes; Surrey *Archæological Collections,* 3 volumes; Camden Society *Publications,* 16 additional volumes; Chambers's *Encyclopedia,* 10 volumes; *Atlantic Monthly,* 20 volumes; *History of the Revolutionary War,* 3 volumes, Dublin, 1777–85, rare; Mrs. Warren's *History of the American Revolution,* 3 volumes; Ramsay's *History of the United States,* 3 volumes; Ramsay's *History of South Carolina,* 2 volumes; Help's *Spanish Conquest of America,* 4 volumes; *Life of Samuel Adams,* 3 volumes; Mommsen's *History of Rome,* 4 volumes; Dr. Warren's *Giganteus of North America,* 1 vol. quarto; *Natural History of Washington Territory,* 1 vol., quarto; Furman's *Notes on Brooklyn,* 1 vol., quarto; Gendron's *Hurons in New France,* reprint of original of 1660, 1 vol. quarto; Shea's edition of *Charlevoix's History of New France,* vol. 5th, quarto; Miller's *Description of New York in 1695*; Norton's *Redeemed Captive,* and *Capture of Fort Massachusetts,* 1744–49, quarto; Ferguson's *Rock-Cut Temples of India,* quarto; *Present State of North America, 1755,* quarto; *French and English Memorials Concerning Nova Scotia and St. Lucia,* 2 vols., quarto, 1755; Finley's *Journal from Maine to Georgia,* 1773–4, quarto; Earl of Sterling's *Narrative and Genealogy,* quarto; *Geological Survey of Illinois,* 4th vol.,

quarto; *Fossils of Niagara Limestone at Chicago,* quarto; *U. S. Naval Observatory,* quarto; Smithsonian *Contributions,* containing Morgan's *Systems of Consanguinity,* quarto; *Atlas of U. S. Geological Survey,* quarto; *Congressional Globe,* 7 additional volumes, quarto; *Scientific American,* 5 vols., quarto; Baker and Appleton's *Genealogy,* quarto; Congressional Documents, 29 vols.; *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences,* 1 vol., folio, 1778– latter from Silas Chapman.

Among the works on English history, antiquities, bibliography and genealogy are the following, in folio size: Berry's County Genealogies of Kent, Hants, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Surrey and Hertfordshire, 4 vols.; Polwhele's *History of Devonshire,* 3 vols.; *Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England,* 2 vols.; *Domesday Book of Kent; Natural History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire;* Fosbrooke's *History of Gloucester;* Hoare's *History Wiltshire;* Warne's *Celtic Tumuli of Dorset; History and Antiquities of North Durham.*

And the following works on the same subject in quarto size: *History and Antiquities of Buckinghamshire,* 4 vols.; *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland,* 3 vols.; Woodward's *History of Wales,* 2 vols.; Baine's *History of Lancashire,* 2 vols.; Wright's *History of Essex,* 2 vols.; Glover's *History of Derby,* 2 vols.; Lower's *Worthies of Sussex,* 1 vol.; Poulson's *Hitsory and Antiquities of Holderness in York,* 2 vols.; Bank's *Baronies in Fee,* 2 vols.; *Tourist in Wales*; Meyrick's *History and Antiquities of Cardigan, Wales;* Malkin's *Antiquities of South Wales;* Halliwell's *Notes on North Wales; Excavations of Cœrnwent; Smith Family in Great Britain; Yorkshire Library; History of County of Kent; Tour Through the Isle of Man; History and Antiquities of Exeter; History of Coventry; Domesday Book of Kent, Essex and Sussex;* Berry's *History of Guernsey;* Lyon's *Magna Brittania, Cambridgeshire;* Griffith's *Cheltenham;* Home's *History of Rebellion of 1745*; Pownal's *Romana of Gaul*; Byrne's *Britannia Depicta;* Surridge's *Roman Inscriptions in Northumberland;* Halliwell's *West Cornwall and Cellic Remains; Records of the Royal Burgs of Scotland; White Book of London; Memorials of Birmingham; History and Antiquities of Blythe;*

Remains of Pagan Saxondom; Chronicle of London, 1080 to 1483, written in the fifteenth century; *Roman Remains of Aldborough, York;* Irving's *History of Dunbartonshire,* with genealogical notices; *Archer Genealogy* and *Druce Genealogy.*

Of the same class are the following in octavo: *Cambrio-Briton,* 3 volumes; *Cambrensis Eversus,* early Irish History, 3 volumes; Leland's *History of Ireland,* 3 volumes; James' *Naval History of Great Britain,* 6 volumes; Hutchinson's *History and Antiquities of Durham,* 3 volumes; Sharon Turner's *History of Great Britain,* 12 volumes; Froude's *History of England,* 12 volumes; *Topographer and Genealogist,* 3 volumes; Allen's *History of York,* 3 volumes; Allen's *History Surrey,* 2 volumes; Dryden's *History of Steeple Acton, Oxfordshire*; Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland,* 2 volumes; Lodge's *British Peerage,* 3 volumes; *Domesday Book of Norfolk;* histories generally of Buckinghamshire, Kent, Oxfordshire, Northumberland and Durham, Lancaster, Allerton, Banbury, Arundel, Cilgerron, Cirencester, Colchester, Exeter, Knolle, Isle of Man, Malrusburg, Rochester, Scarborough, Tiverton, and others.

Life and Times of Sir Thomas Graham; Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough, of the times of Queen Anne; *History of the Four Conquests of England; Court and Society from Elizabeth to Anne;* James' *Life and Times of Louis XIV; Autobiography of Cornelia Knight; Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell; Life and Times of Lord Cloncurry; Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham; Memoirs of Henry the Great; Life of Sir Samuel Romilly; Life of Frederic the Second King of Prussia; Life and Times of Sir Christopher Hatton; Diary of the Times of Charles the Second; England under the Reigns of Edward Sixth and Mary; Court of King James the First; Henry of Monmouth, King of England; Life of Richard Cœur de Leon; Life and Times of Francis the First, King of France; Elizabeth and Her Times.* These several additions on the History, Antiquities, Bibliography, Biography and Genealogy of Great Britain, number 267 volumes, and must be regarded as a valuable acquisition to our Library.

To the Newspaper Department have been added 39 volumes, of which six were published in the last century—the *Observer and Rehearsal,* London, 1704–11, 2 vols., folio; and Boston *Chronicle,* and *Columbian Centinel,* 1794–96, 4 vols.; making the total number of bound newspaper files in our collection 1640; of which three were published in the seventeenth, 159 in the eighteenth, and the others in the present century.

To the Atlas and Map Department have been added Faden's American Atlas, 1777, folio; Atlas of U. S. Geological Survey, quarto; eighteen maps of the seat of war of the Army of the Potomac, from May 4, 1864, to April 9, 1865, from Hon. L. Fairchild; sectional map of Illinois, 1869; map of Illinois, 1857; Iowa, 1856; Wisconsin, 1857, and Chicago, 1862, from D. H. Wheeler; sectional map of Wisconsin, township map of Wisconsin, and map of Forest Home Cemetery, Milwaukee, from Silas Chapman; map of Jackson, Michigan, 1871, and view of the city of Oshkosh, 1871, from W. S. Taylor; map of Waupaca county, from C. W. Packard; map of western Oregon, from Switzer & Upton; and map of railroad property of Prairie du Chien, from L. Kellogg—total 33; making the present number of maps and atlases, 534.

There have been added to the Library 55 volumes of American, and 16 of English magazines; 13 volumes of Bibliography; 42 on Geneaology and kindred subjects; 64 on Science; 34 on Philology; 12 on Agriculture; 126 on Laws and Legislation, and 100 of a miscellaneous character.

To the Departments of American Literature, History and Science have been added 24 volumes on ante-Revolutionary History; 15 on the Revolutionary War; 81 since the Revolution; Local Histories, 31; on American History, 18; Historical Socities, 8; War of 1812, 7; on the Rebellion, 13; Biography, 35; on Canada, 6; Genealogy, 16; American magazines, 55; American newspaper files, 37; Laws and Legislation, 126; Science, 20; Agriculture, 12; Statistics and Miscellaneous, 75—total, 583.

Pamphlet Additions—Their Utility

The pamphlet additions of the year have been large and varied—relating to history, genealogy, funeral discourses, science, education, humanitarian institutions, and many other topics of public interest. From a cursory view of such a collection, one might suppose very many of them almost worthless. Let them, however, be carefully classified and put in their proper places, and some day our students and investigators will find important uses for them. "Without taking into account the fact that we may be mistaken in our estimate, and that which we pronounce worthless, the future may find to be of unspeakable value—without taking this into account, the very worthlessness of such productions may be a fact, which it will be, at some time most important to know. In estimating the effects of various systems, social, political or intellectual, upon the mind or character, the discovery of some obscure pamphlet, written under certain influences which may be under consideration, will oftentimes prove a very important witness, and throw unexpected light upon the question involved. Every reflecting reader of Buckle, who has made, perhaps, the most elaborate attempt to treat the *History of Civilization* inductively, must have noticed how constantly he appeals to the evidence furnished by what is usually considered the mere rubbish of our great libraries. Upon this evidence, thus collected from the most obscure sources, the character of epochs is in a great measure determined, and the foundation of social systems laid. If his conclusions are not always logically drawn, or his theories sound, he has still incidentally established the value, at least in his department of philosophical history, of every product of thought in every age."

What is true of Buckle's special department, is equally true of other departments of Science and Social progress. Some musty book, some obscure pamphlet, may contain some recorded observation, some hint, some simple fact, some singular phenomena, that the earnest seeker after truth will appropriate, and evolve from it the secret of a natural law of the highest importance to the human race. It was because Kepler and

Newton, Watt and Franklin, Fulton and Morse, were able to grasp and interpret such facts, that they became the great and useful discoverers they were to their race.

Book Donors.—State of Wisconsin, 58 vols.; N. Y. State Library, 37; Department of the Interior, 29; Boston Public Library, 23; Chicago Historical Society, 23; Yale College, 23; Joseph Sabin and Sons, 20; Iowa Historical Society, 12; Massachusetts Historical Society, 11; Hon. Ll. Breese, 10; Robert Clarke, 9; Hon. David Atwood, 7; Dr. S. A. Greene, 5; Pennsylvania Historical Society, 4; D. H. Wheeler, 4; Hon. M. H. Carpenter, 3; F. A. Holden, 3; J. Leaman, 3; Maj. O. F. R. Waite, 3; Chief of U. S. Engineers, Andover Theological Seminary, Hon. H. D. Barron, Gen. J. W. DePeyster, Dr. F. P. Porcher, Dr. Ashbel Woodward, Dr. J. W. Hoyt, T. C. Clarke, G. B. Stebbins and Ledyard Bill, 2 volumes each; and one volume each from the following: State of Massachusetts, State of Pennsylvania, Smithsonian Institute, U. S. Naval Observatory, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cincinnati Public Library, Boston Congregational Association, Rev. Bishop F. Schweinitz, Prof. A. W. Worthen, Wm. S. Appleton, Silas Chapman, Dr. Wm. Prescott, Prof. J. D. Butler, Dr. S. M. Smith, Dr. W. H. Mussey, Miss E. C. Joy, Hon. James Shaw, W. F. Poole, R. W. Raymond, Beverly Jefferson, Richard Lindsley, B. A. Baldwin, S. C. Cox, W. S. Taylor and N. Griffin.

Pamphlet Donors.—Massachusetts Historical Society, 600; Yale College, 275; New York State Library, 184; Boston Congregational Library Association, 160; Hon. David Atwood, 127; Dr. S. A. Greene, 99; Pennsylvania Historical Society, 37; Lyman C. Draper, 32; Chicago Historical Society, 28; Prof. W. F. Allen, 25; Robert Clarke, 24; Boston Idiotic Children Society, 18; Hon. T. O. Howe, 15; Rev. S. Reynolds, 13; W. P. Garrison, 12; Boston Public Library, 10; John B. Perry, 9; Joel Munsell, 7; Andover Theological Seminary, 7; Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce,

and Dr. S. Kneeland, each 5; Philadelphia Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, State of Wisconsin, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad, Dr. Ashbel Woodward, and Gov. H. Austin, of Minnesota, 4 each; Pennsylvania Historical Society, Hon. L. Breese, Hon. M. H. Carpenter, Hon. R. C. Winthrop, Capt. Geo. H. Preble, and Hon. Jas. Shaw, 3 each; New York Historical Society, Dr. I. A. Lapham, Rev. C. D. Bradlee, Hon. J. H. Eaton, J. G. Thayer, C. H. Winfield, G. H. Burrows, and D. H. Wheeler, 2 each; and one each from Georgia Historical Society, Vermont Historical Society, Minnesota Historical Society, Buffalo Historical Society, Harvard College, Cincinnati Public Library, Hon. H. D. Barron, Gen. J. W. De Peyster, Mrs. F. McN. Potter, Dr. Daniel Read, W. C. Bryant, J. M. Bundy, J. A. Carswell, J. M. Dalzell, B. F. Dowell, H. H. Edes, E. J. Foster, C. H. Hart, C. N. Holden, W. J. Langson, and T. H. Wynne.

Picture Gallery

A fine portrait, in oil, of Hon. Daniel Wells, painted by C. W. Heyd, in elegant gilt frame, also a photograph of Mr. Wells, in rosewood frame, from Hon. D. Wells; a fine oil portrait of the late Hon. B. F. Hopkins, deposited by Mrs. Judge McArthur—making the present number of oil paintings in the Gallery 76. Other portraits of our pioneer settlers and prominent public men, it is hoped, will be early contributed to the collection.

Cabinet Additions

Antiquities.—A small copper knife, about four inches long, plowed up in Wyocena, Wis., from D. S. Bushnell; an ancient specimen of Indian pottery, a pipe or calumet of peace, found some thirty-five years since near the locality of Steel's Fort, on Fishing Creek, South Carolina—a small neighborhood defence occupied during the old French and Indian War of 1754–63—the coiled stem of the calumet, now partially broken, was not more than ten inches long when found, though the whole length was about ten feet, from the venerable Daniel

G. Stinson, the well known antiquary of Chester county, South Carolina.

Autographs.—Autograph letters of Gen. D. Hugunin, Cleveland, 1836, Thomas Williams, 1842, and Hon. Hugh McCullough, 1850, from H. H. Hurlbut.

Coin.—A copper British half-penny, dated 1793, with a bust of Sir Isaac Newton, found near Dodgeville, Wis., presented by James Roberts.

Natural History.—What appears to be a tooth and upper part of the jaw of a Mastodon, found in Blue Mound Creek, six miles south of Blue Mounds, Iowa county, Wis., in 1868, from Hon. John Adams; fossil shell, found at Cottage Grove, from J. E. Smith; specimen of shell rock, from the bluffs at McGregor, Iowa, polished, from C. A. Pierson; a specimen of lead ore, from Otsego, Columbia county, Wis., from A. Emonson.

Paper Money, etc.—Specimen of paper money, Warsaw, Poland, 1846, from I. Schonfield; a $5 bill of Bank of Commerce, Erie, Pa., from W. S. Taylor; a $1,000 Confederate Bond, and a $500 Confederate bond, from Harvey Terry.

Photographs, etc.—Two fine photographs of the State Capitol, neatly framed and glazed, and a photograph of the First House in Madison, in 1837, from the artist, N. P. Jones; photograph of Hon. Amasa Cobb, framed and glazed, from Gen. Cobb, a photograph of Hon. Lyman Walker, and also a photograph group of Wisconsin editors in the Legislature of 1871, both neatly framed and glazed, from the artist, J. M. Fowler; a lithograph bird's eye view of Geneva, Wis., from Hon. C. M. Baker.

Miscellaneous.—A steel fox-trap, attached to a section of tree, which had grown around it and from which it cannot be separated, found five miles below De Korra, on the Wisconsin river, from Frank Glosser; two thin sheets of paper, manufactured in Japan, and used for napkins, from E. W. Skinner; the prize banner of Madison Engine Co. No. 1, presented by

the members of the late company; badge Ku Klux Klan, with motto, "Vengeance is mine," from J. Longstaff. A copy of *Compte Rendus des Séances*, 1839, 2 vols. quarto, unbound, from W. P. Garrison. A file of *Jeffersonian* newspaper, 1838, unbound, from Hon. J. F. Hand.

Nine numbers of Cape Girardeau *Eagle*, published at Cape Girardeau by First Wisconsin Cavalry, May–July, 1862, from Chas. B. Palmer. A facsimile reprint of the Boston *Gazette*, of March 12, 1770, containing an account of the Boston massacre, from Elliott Sanford. A set of Lodge's *Portraits*, 40 numbers, complete, unbound, from J. Sabin & Sons. A copy of the *Morning Call* newspaper, Duluth, January 21, 1871, the smallest newspaper in the United States, from W. S. Seavey. *Home and Abroad*, newspaper file, for 1870–71, complete, unbound, from Rev. Dr. W. S. Perry.

The Society is greatly indebted to Isaac Lyon for the deposit in its cabinet of his large and interesting collection of curiosities—the result of several years' well-directed efforts in his green old age; and this generous deposit is greatly enhanced by the devotion of much of his time to a proper exhibition of them to our many visitors—a labor of love to our venerable friend and benefactor.

Contributions for Exchanges

From the State of Wisconsin, 150 copies of Laws, Legislative Journals and Reports, and 25 copies of *Transactions* of State Horticultural Society; Dyer's Address on *History of Racine County*, from J. A. Carswell, 10 copies; Wisconsin Editorial Association *Proceedings*, 1870, from the Association, per Hon. James Ross, Secretary, 25 copies; 50 copies of pamphlet on Oregon, from B. F. Dowell; from G. B. Burrows, pamphlets on Madison, 15 copies; *Report* of Madison Board of Education, 20 copies, from Prof. B. M. Reynolds; 4 copies of *Campaign of 8th Wisconsin Regiment*, from C. P. Chapman.

MS. Historical Contributions

In addition to papers heretofore reported for future publication, the following are among the more important contribu-

tions: A paper on the North American Indians, and the census of the heads of families of Brown county, now embracing more than half of the present State of Wisconsin, as taken in 1830, by Henry S. Baird, from Mr. Baird. Copies of letters and documents relative to Prairie du Chien Treaty in 1829, as preserved among the papers of Gen. John McNeil, one of the Commissioners, from his daughter, Mrs. F. McNeil Potter. Eleazer Williams and the Lost Prince, by Hon. John Y. Smith. A Narrative of the Early Settlement of the Lead Region of Wisconsin, by the late Dr. Moses Meeker, from Nicholas Smith. Green County Pioneers, and Pioneer Settlement, by Prof. Albert Salisbury. Captain Jonathan Carver and the Carver Grant, by D. S. Durrie. Early Settlement and History of Walworth county, by Hon. C. M. Baker. A sketch of Albert Fowler, an early Milwaukee settler, by D. W. Fowler. A Memoir of Hon. Charles Durkee, by Hon. M. Frank. Eulogies of Hon. B. F. Hopkins, by Hon. David Atwood; on Hon. G. D. Elwood, by Hon. S. D. Hastings; and on Hon. George Gale, by D. S. Durrie. There are several other papers, some of which have appeared in local newspapers, and which well deserve a permanent place in our volumes of *Collections*. From all which it will not be difficult to select appropriate matter for our sixth volume, which we design issuing during the present year.

Cataloguing the Library

This labor, under the supervision of the Librarian and assistant, has progressed finely the past year. A portion of Miss Durrie's time has been devoted to a much needed re-arrangement of public documents of the various States, and pamphlets generally, grouping similar kinds together, and consolidating the corresponding catalogue slips. The catalogue slips which were formerly pasted alphabetically in about fifty folio volumes, have been detached from those volumes, and placed where they properly belong, consolidating them when it could be done, correcting any former errors in titles, and destroying duplicate cards. The bulk of the catalogue has thus been

considerably reduced, and the whole placed in a much more convenient shape for reference.

Thus is the catalogue being steadily prepared for printing in the course of 1873, as authorized by the Legislature; and we trust when it does appear, it will present a collection of works in the various departments of science and literature, that will prove highly gratifying and useful to all who may have occasion to consult our Library and collections in the prosecution of their studies and inquiries.

Our Publications

The last Legislature provided for the publication of one volume of *Collections*, to be issued not oftener than once in two years commencing in 1872; and also for the publication of a Catalogue of the Library in 1873, and for subsequent supplements. This legislation, so promptly and liberally accorded, makes provision for all that could be desired in this direction.

More Shelving Capacity Needed

Among the many valued services, so considerately and so constantly rendered the Society by Governor Fairchild, during his administration, the erection of galleries, by his order, in our East and West rooms—the former in 1869, and the latter in 1870—were not the least important. It required no prophetic eye to foresee that additional capacity would soon be needed for our increasing stores of literature. The shelves of both galleries are now well crowded, and more shelf expansion is necessary. To meet this demand, and the better to classify the several departments, a gallery and shelving for our Central Hall are now required, and we hope will be provided during the current year; as well, also, new locks for the book cases, another pressing need.

Those who consult the Library, including the State officers, members of the Legislature, legislative committees, officers of our State humanitarian institutions, professors and students of our State University, colleges and academies, practitioners and suitors in our courts, inventors, and our citizens generally, now

number many thousands annually; and every additional facility and convenience accorded to them, is a real benefit conferred upon our whole people.

Endowments

We have repeatedly urged the necessity of endowment funds, the income only to be used for specific purposes. A Binding Fund seemed the most imperative; and the first contribution to it, a hundred dollars, by Hon. John Catlin, was reported at the annual meeting in January, 1868, and a similar contribution from Hon. Cyrus Woodman, was announced a year thereafter. These small beginnings have been augmented by life membership fees and annual dues, donations, interest, and from other sources, to $656.38. This is but a moiety of what is needed to render such a fund of any practical utility.

The Binding Fund is a matter of the highest importance to the future welfare and usefulness of the Society. It should not be drawn upon till it has reached from $5,000 to $10,000, when its annual interest would perpetually provide for the binding of hundreds of volumes of books, newspaper files, magazines, reviews and pamphlets, thus relieving the General Fund from a heavy tax, and enabling the Society to add largely to the treasures upon its shelves. We entreat the friends of the Society to provide liberally for this fund, in money or pledges. We have hundreds of valuable works every year, books, reviews, magazines, newspaper files, documents, and pamphlets, that need binding; and such a fund would contribute very materially to the utility, convenience and appearance of our Library.

After the adoption of the preceding report, it was, on motion of L. C. Draper, unanimously

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be and they are hereby tendered to Increase A. Lapham, LL. D., for his long and constant services in its behalf, from its organization meeting, Jan. 30, 1849, to the present—serving so acceptably as its President for the past ten years, and respectfully declining a further re-election; and we further express the earnest hope that he, who has done so much in past years, to make our antiquarian,

natural and civil history favorably known abroad, may continue to our Society such services as he may be able in the future to render.

The following resolution, submitted by Hon. S. D. Hastings, and seconded by Gen. G. P. Delaplaine, was passed by acclamation:

Resolved, That we have listened with great pleasure to the report of the Executive Committee, read in our hearing this evening, showing, as it does, the remarkable success that has attended the labors of this Society in the accomplishment of the objects for which it was organized; and that we feel it no more than justice to our Corresponding Secretary, Mr. Lyman C. Draper, to acknowledge that for our extraordinary success we are indebted more to his wise and indefatigable labors, aided by the untiring efforts of the efficient Librarian, Mr. D. S. Durrie, than to any other cause; and that we hereby tender to them our heartfelt thanks for their faithful devotion to the interests of the Society.

Life and Services of Benjamin F. Hopkins*

By David Atwood

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the State Historical Society:

Men die, but their deeds live after them. It is the mission of this Society to keep a record of such things as go to make up a perfect history of the State; and there is no one thing that will do more in this direction, than to keep a record of the lives and deeds of prominent men who have resided in the State—men whose characters and actions have been identified with the public interests. It is with a view to aiding in making this record as perfect as possible, that I accede to the request of this Society, to prepare a paper on the life, character and services of our late distinguished fellow citizen and active co-worker, Hon. Benjamin Franklin Hopkins, whose death on the first day of January, 1870, caused general mourning throughout the State, and was an especial affliction to the people of Madison, with whom he had so long resided, and by whom he was so highly respected and esteemed. In the brief paper that I may present, it cannot be expected that I shall particularly interest those who were familiar with the subject of it, while in life, but it may prove of some interest to those who come after us, and are in search of historical events.

Stricken down in the prime of life, just as he had reached a position that he was so well qualified to fill, and that promised great usefulness in the future, the death of Mr. Hopkins was a sad event to the people of the State. Yet, when we consider

"That life is long, which answers life's great end,"

* Read before the Society, Nov. 15, 1870.

and judged by that standard, the life of our friend was indeed a long and useful one. Though he had lived but about forty years, his experience in life, his accomplishments for himself and the public, were greater than falls to the lot of most men who live double that length of time. His was a mind to develop young, to ripen early and expand as events occurred, with wonderful vigor. It was never idle. With quick perceptive faculties, great sagacity and superior judgment, he grasped a subject at once, and in a brief time, comprehended it, in all its bearings, however intricate the problems that might be presented. These traits of character rendered him a man of great power and usefulness in the community, in whatever capacity he might act. The death of such a man is a sore affliction to the people; but there is consolation in the fact that he was spared so long, and accomplished so much, as did our friend, whose death we so deeply deplore.

Benjamin Franklin Hopkins was born in Hebron, Washington county, New York, April 22, 1829. His early life was spent on a farm in Granville in the same county. He received such an education as was afforded by the schools at his own home, and, though the opportunities were rather limited, he made excellent use of his time and was deemed a good academic scholar. Farming was not to his liking; though being put to it in his boyhood, he was active and useful in this employment. His mind was too active for a farmer's life, and craved the more stimulating pursuits of the business world.

For a time, he was clerk in a country store, and showed a peculiar aptitude for this position. While yet a youth, the telegraph was brought into use. This wonderful process of communicating with each other from all parts of the country—of annihilating time and distance as it were—was almost captivating to young Hopkins, and he at once obtained a situation to receive instruction in the mysterious process of telegraphing. He soon became an accomplished operator. Then, at the age of twenty, having read of the great and growing West, he became convinced that it presented an inviting field for the development and growth of the mind of a young man. In Octo-

ber, 1849, he came to Wisconsin. He had been attracted to Fond du Lac, having friends residing at that point, and made his first stop in the State at that place. He remained there but a short time, as, in November, in that year, we find him in charge of the telegraph office at Madison, a place that presented unusual charms for him, and which was, forever afterwards his home. As a resident of that city, Mr. Hopkins was ever foremost in promoting its best interests. He gave to it the benefit of his counsel, was active in labor, and liberal with his means, in the advancement of any project, having for its purpose the improvement of Madison, in adding to its business, or to its beauty. The citizens of the Capital city, appreciate his valuable services, and have great cause for lamenting his early death. His many acts of benevolence and kindness will be long remembered by her people. He acted nobly and well a citizen's duty, during his entire residence in Madison.

Commencing his career in Wisconsin as a young man, without means and without friends, the complete success that has attended Mr. Hopkins in his private as well as in his public life, gives conclusive evidence of his ability, shrewdness, and keen foresight in all things. He commenced that career as an operator in a telegraph office. In this position, as in all others in after life, he was accomplished in the execution of his work, attentive to every duty, gentlemanly and obliging to all with whom he came in contact. Previous to this time, the telegraph had proved very unsatisfactory to the people of Madison. On his taking charge of the office, a marked change took place. The business was performed promptly and well, and the new operator soon became one of the most popular young men in the place. The business of the office was small, occupying only a portion of the time of Mr. Hopkins. The salary was also small. He was not long in discovering that he was able to accomplish more than merely to attend to the duties of that position. Madison was then a small village; but the keen perceptive faculties of Mr. Hopkins soon convinced him that it must become a place of considerable importance; and that real estate must increase in value. He economized in all things;

and as soon as he had accumulated a small amount of money, he invested it in lots or lands. There was an immediate advance, and Mr. Hopkins would sell when a good offer was made, and invest the proceeds again. From nothing, by shrewd and careful management, he soon had a good working capital, and he used it with much skill and with excellent results. He was never a man to assume large risks; kept his investments within his means, and when the general crash of 1857 came, he was prepared for it. His business prospered all the time; and, though he did not accumulate a large fortune in a year, he added steadily to his property, till, in a few years, he was in independent circumstances

The first public enterprise with which Mr. Hopkins interested himself, was the organization of the Madison Mutual Insurance Company. In the winter of 1851, he drew up the charter of that institution, procured its passage through the Legislature, and in April, of that year, the Company was duly organized, with Mr. Hopkins as its Secretary. He served in this capacity five years, and was active in his efforts to promote the interest of the Company, and establish for it a reputation for responsibility and promptness. In this, he succeeded in a most satisfactory manner. He was a director and member of the Executive Committee of the Company, from the day of its organization to the day of his death, and took a leading part in its management during the whole time. He was Vice-President for six years, commencing with 1862. Beginning in a small way, pursuing an honorable course in all things, Mr. Hopkins lived to see the Madison Mutual Insurance Company one of the soundest, most reliable and popular institutions in the country. To him, this was a source of great satisfaction. From the fact of having founded it, and having taken so leading a part in its affairs, he became much attached to this Company, looked upon it as a child of his own creation, and took an immense pride in its brilliant success.

In 1855, Mr. Hopkins took an active interest in the incorporation of the Madison Gas Company. He procured the passage of its charter in the winter of that year and the com-

pany was fully organized in the spring, with Mr. Hopkins as its Secretary. The works were immediately constructed, and, for a time, the business of the Company run badly; the income failed to pay expenses, and, at the end of the year, it was largely in debt, and most of the directors were inclined to abandon the enterprise. It was at this juncture, that Mr. Hopkins' sagacity and foresight proved of great value to himself, and of advantage to the people of Madison. He discovered money in the enterprise, if the business was skilfully managed; and proposed to lease the works for five years, assuming the debts of the Company in payment of rent, and obligating himself to furnish the people with gas, and, at the end of the term, return the works in as good condition as when he took them. The offer was promptly accepted; and Mr. Hopkins fulfilled his part of the contract to the letter; and putting his superior business skill into the management of the affairs of the Company, made it pay well from the start. At the end of five years, he was the owner of most of the stock, and it was paying a good income. In this operation, buying the stock cheaply, and so managing the affairs of the Company as to bring it up to par, he made a large share of his fortune.

But I must not dwell on his business life further. Enough has been said to show that he was shrewd and fortunate in business. I will only add, that he was also honorable, liberal, prompt and energetic as a business man, in all his undertakings.

Mr. Hopkins was not only a public spirited man, but he was also a benevolent and kind hearted man. He never turned a deaf ear to the wants of his fellows; but opened his purse liberally to the needy, as hundreds in the community can testify. These acts of benevolence were not performed in an ostentatious manner, but with quietness and kindness—following the Divine injunction, not to let the left hand know what the right hand doeth.

In the matter of public improvements, and the building of churches and other institutions, he was a free giver. No subscription paper passed him without his name opposite a liberal sum of money.

Mr. Hopkins was a patriotic man. At the commencement of the late rebellion, no man, in a private capacity, was more active in aiding to organize troops for the defense of the country, or more liberal, in proportion to his means, in the supplying of money in support of the dear ones at home, than was the subject of this sketch. He did not enter the service, as it was the opinion of his physician, that it would not be safe for him to do so. For many years previous to the war, he had been a great sufferer from inflammatory rheumatism, and it was felt that he could do more good at home, without endangering his life. But he was not an inactive supporter of the Government in the time of its peril. He was constantly devising measures for the comfort of the soldiers and for their families at home.

Perhaps the most pleasing and satisfactory labor of Mr. Hopkins' life, to himself, was performed immediately after the close of the war; and certainly it has proved a great blessing to the State. I have reference to his efforts in establishing the "Soldiers' Orphans' Home." He took an early, active and leading part in this great benevolent institution, fraught with such untold blessings to the orphan children of Wisconsin soldiers. In conversation with Mrs. Governor Harvey, she informed me that Mr. Hopkins was the originator of that Home. At all events, he was the first person that suggested the matter to her; and she became the active instrument in the accomplishment of that most noble enterprise.

Mrs. Harvey has furnished the writer with a letter from Mr. Hopkins to her, on this subject. In a note accompanying the letter, she writes:

"Enclosed you will find the letter of Mr. Hopkins, I spoke to you about. This is the first word that I ever received from anybody in regard to the establishment of a Home for the helpless children, made fatherless by the war. This letter decided me to go to Madison. I supposed this fact was more generally known. As I see no report of it in any published accounts of the life and acts of Mr. Hopkins, I think it but just and right that mention should be made of this. You know the aid that he after-

wards gave, and how gratified he was for any success. I do not believe that any work of his life ever gave him more real pleasure."

The following is a copy of Mr. Hopkins' letter to which Mrs. Harvey refers:

Madison, June 14, 1865.

"My Dear Mrs. Harvey: As the war may now be considered over, and your kind offices, and good services, at the bed-side of our suffering heroes in the Hospitals, will not be much longer needed I trust, and knowing that your interest in our soldiers, and whatever concerns them, will never cease, I wish to consult you in relation to a charitable project, about which I have thought considerable of late, and which will, I have no doubt, meet with a favorable response from our people, when presented to them. You are aware that there is in our midst, a large number of helpless and most unfortunate orphan children, whose only protectors have fallen victims to this cruel rebellion. These children should be most carefully and tenderly cared for and educated by the State; and not one of them should ever suffer the disgrace of being sent to our poorhouses; but should be adopted by the State, and cared for and educated, so that they may begin life with a chance of prosperity and usefulness, instead of being kicked about like public paupers, and driven to crime and shame. We cannot afford to be ungenerous, and far less unjust, towards the children of our brave defenders, who have laid down their lives in this struggle.

"We have been thinking, a few of us, of buying the 'Harvey Hospital' here, and presenting it to the State, to be used as an Orphan Asylum and school for those fatherless children who have no means of proper support and education. We would like you, if you can do so, to take charge of it; or, if you cannot do so, to interest yourself in behalf of the cause, (if it meets your approbation, and I feel certain it will,) and aid us in its establishment. You know the location of the property is most delightful, and by getting a donation of the improvements made by the Government, it could, with little expense, be made immediately useful for a large number. If it can be properly started, there is no doubt but that it will soon become one of the most, if

not the most interesting and beneficial institution in our State. Our people must take great pride in its prosperity and success. We have written to the War Department, asking for the donation of the improvements which have been placed there by the Government, and have no reason to doubt an affirmative answer. If you think the project feasible, and have a mind to add still more to your already extended fame, as the soldiers' friend, and to lay the people under still greater obligations to you for your noble exertions, I should like to have you come up and visit us, so that we may counsel together upon this subject. Please advise me when you can come, and oblige,

"Very Respectfully Yours,

[Signed.] "B. F. HOPKINS."

The Institution was put in operation, and Mr. Hopkins was a leading member of the Board of Trustees, from the commencement, so long as he lived. He was efficient in promoting its affairs, and took a lively interest in everything pertaining to this noblest of our State charities. It is one that strikes the tenderest chords of the heart; and it is a proud monument to any man, to have been its founder and early protector.

Mr. Hopkins was a politician, in its best and most enlarged sense. He was versed in the science of Government, and skilled in the execution of his plans. In early life, he belonged to the great Whig party, and entered actively into the work of advancing its interests, and continued to act with it so long as that party had an existence. On the organization of the Republican party he became identified with it, and during the balance of his life was one of its leading members. Few men, if any, in the State, were more instrumental in keeping that party in ascendency in Wisconsin, than was our friend. He was ever ready with his counsel, his work and his means, to aid in securing the success of his party and its principles and he became a great power in it.

His first political office was that of Private Secretary to Governor Bashford, in which position he served with marked ability and fidelity, and to the great acceptance of the people, during the years 1856 and 1857. In the fall of 1861, he was

elected to the State Senate, in which body he distinguished himself as a ready debater, and as a legislator of great efficiency. He had no superior among his fellows in the Senate. In 1865, he was elected to the Assembly of Wisconsin. In both of these cases, he was elected in districts where his party was in a large minority; but his popularity with the people was very great, and he was rarely defeated in a popular election.

Mr. Hopkins was an ambitious man. Ambitious to be of use to the world. His efforts were well matured and systematized. He first accumulated a fortune in private business, and then devoted himself to the public service. His ambition led him to seek place; not merely for the sake of place; but to enable him to do a greater good than could be accomplished without it. He was a man of wonderful tenacity of character; and when he put his mind upon doing a thing was not easily turned from his purpose. This characteristic was clearly demonstrated in his efforts to obtain a seat in Congress. He aspired to that position in 1862; but failed to reach it till 1866. The contests in the conventions of his party, and his action during the four years, are so well described by Senator Howe, in his remarks in the United States Senate, on the 11th of February, 1870, in speaking of the character of Mr. Hopkins, that I am induced to give place to an extract from them in this connection. It gives a good idea of the character of the man, of whom I am writing.

In referring to the Congressional district, and to the contests in the Conventions, Senator Howe said:

"The Second Congressional District of Wisconsin comprises the four great counties of Dane, Rock, Columbia and Jefferson, and numbered, in 1861, a population of about one hundred and forty-three thousand. It is one of the richest agricultural districts in that or any other State. There is no large city in it; but there are, besides the Capital of the State, very many towns numbering from five to fifteen thousand inhabitants. I run no risk of disparaging any other people, when I say, that I do not know where you can find the same number of people combining more intelligence, more virtue, more culture, or more thrift, less

of ignorance, less vice, or less poverty than in these four counties. There is no constituency anywhere before whom pretenders or shams of every kind stand less chance of success. Whoever secures the favor of such a people, must have positive merit of some kind. The Republican party of that district was represented in the convention of 1862, by forty-four delegates. Of these, twenty-one declared for Mr. Hopkins, while twenty-two declared for Hon. I. C. Sloan. One delegate voted for a third candidate. After fifteen ballotings, Mr. Sloan received twenty-three votes and was nominated. If Mr. Hopkins had shown the year before that he was superior to the influence of victory, he demonstrated now that he could not be demoralized by defeat. He was beaten, but he lost no confidence in himself, and his friends lost no confidence in him. Accordingly, he appeared again, two years later, before the convention as a candidate for the same nomination. He met there again his old antagonist; and it would seem as if he must have met him under great disadvantages. Mr. Sloan had the prestige of one victory. He had served his district through one session with undeviating fidelity and rare ability. The event showed that while Mr. Sloan had lost none of his own friends, he had wholly failed to disarm the friends of Mr. Hopkins. Indeed, so exactly was the relative force of the two parties preserved, that in the convention of 1864, the majority depended upon two contested seats. Those seats were adjudged to the friends of Mr. Sloan, and he was again nominated.

"Mr. Hopkins was again defeated, but he was still as far from being subdued as ever. He plunged into the canvass for his rival. He secured the continued adherence of his own friends by the unfaltering ardor with which, in spite of personal disappointment, he still served the cause; and he did something to disarm the opposition by the zeal with which he devoted himself to the election of their chief. Accordingly, in 1866, when forty-four delegates, representing the Second District, again assembled to select a candidate for Congress, on the informal ballot eighteen of them declared for Benjamin F. Hopkins. The remaining twenty-six votes were divided among three other candidates, in the proportion of ten for one and eight for the other two. On the first formal ballot Mr. Hopkins had nineteen votes. No speeches were made. All understood the issue was to be deter-

mined by pluck, and not by rhetoric. Not any angry or discourteous word was uttered. With dogged but quiet pertinacity those forty-four men sat down to the solution of the great problem before them. On the fifteenth formal ballot Mr. Hopkins received twenty-one votes. After eighty or more ballotings, on the ninety-fifth ballot, one more delegate ranged himself under Mr. Hopkins' flag, and he led just one-half the convention. Yet such was the resolute obstinacy which characterized every member of the body, that victory seemd as far off and as difficult to achieve as ever; and it was not until late in the evening of the second day of the convention, and on the one hundred and thirty-sixth ballot, that twenty-three votes were finally cast for Mr. Hopkins. He was nominated. The struggle, which for four years had never faltered—completely ended. It was not renewed in 1868. He was then re-nominated, I think, without the show of opposition."

Mr. Hopkins had just completed his first term in Congress, and been re-elected, when disease took a severe hold upon him. During the time he served in Congress, he stood high in the estimation of the members, as a man of unusual sagacity and as possessing remarkable abilities.

Mr. Lawrence, an able and distinguished member of the House from Ohio, in referring to Mr. Hopkins, spoke thus eloquently of him:

"A little more than a year ago I was associated with him on a committee of this House charged with an important investigation, and in the discharge of its duties I there learned to know and love him as I had never done before. Few men had greater natural ability or stronger common-sense, and to these were added a culture which made him alike accomplished and useful. His grasp and force of intellect, his faculty of comprehending all subjects on which he was called to act, made him a most able, valuable, and efficient member of this House, as he was of the committee to which I have referred. Generous in his nature, guided in all his purposes by an inherent and instructive sense of duty and of right, he had within him all the elements of a noble soul, and he died as he lived, the noblest work of God—an honest man."

Nothing more need be said to show that Mr. Hopkins occupied a commanding position in the National Congress. His greatest strength was in his superior knowledge of men. He made this his study, and was a very successful student. His manner was pleasing, and he readily won the esteem of all with whom he came in contact. This gave him immense power; and this power was manifest in the marked success that attended all his efforts. For the length of time he served in Congress, few men, if any, ever made a prouder or more successful record than did the subject of this imperfect sketch. Although cut off in the prime of life, and in the midst of his usefulness, he leaves a name and fame that but few persons can hope to attain.

As a public speaker, Mr. Hopkins was fluent and pleasing. His talent in this direction was natural. He was not an educated orator. It was only in the few latter years of his life that he made any effort in this direction. His progress, after he did commence, was very marked. In the campaign of 1868, he spoke in a large number of places in his district, with decided success. In Congress, he made but few speeches; though when he did address the House, it was with good effect; and he received marked attention from the members. He was one of the youngest men in that body; but in influence, stood among the first. He was affable and courteous to his associates; a keen observer of events; an accurate judge of men; a warm and sincere friend.

Socially, our friend occupied a high position. He was the life of all circles in which he participated. Pleasing in manners, fluent in conversation, jovial in his nature, Mr. Hopkins was a brilliant ornament in the social walks of life. Rarely do we find, combined in one person, so many of those natural gifts, that rendered him a most genial and pleasant companion. His generous nature and unostentatious manners, caused him to be a favorite, not only in the social circle, but endeared him to all. He entered into the enjoyments of those about him, with a sympathy that caused every one, old or young, to delight in his society. The strength of his social and domestic

attachments, was very marked. His friendship was sincere and true; his grasp of the hand, warm and cordial.

> "His life was gentle, and the elements
> So mixed in him, that Nature might stand up
> And say to all the world, *this was a man.*"

In personal appearance, Mr. Hopkins was a noble specimen of manly grace and elegance. In height, he was about five feet and ten inches; erect in form; dark hair and complexion, with large expressive eyes. Until within a few months of his death, his appearance indicated the most perfect health.

Mr. Hopkins was twice married. His first wife was Miss Ethalinda Lewis, with whom he was united on the 25th day of May, 1853. She was a lady of much beauty and high accomplishments, but of frail constitution. She died in about two years after marriage. His second wife was Miss Mary E. Wilcut, with whom he was married on the 14th day of September, 1857. She is a lady of superior intelligence and culture, who survives her husband. He left no children. He enjoyed home, and provided liberally for its pleasures and its comforts.

At the close of the first session of the Forty-first Congress, in the spring of 1869, Mr. Hopkins returned to his home in Wisconsin, with health much impaired. His condition was not deemed alarming, either to himself or his friends. Being a member of the Committee on Pacific Railroads in the House, he was permitted to pass over that road, then recently finished, to the Pacific Coast with a limited number of friends of his own selection; and, during the summer he made up a party of some thirty chosen companions, and took the trip to San Francisco, visiting many prominent points on the way, and in various parts of California. The journey was performed in considerable haste, and in his enfeebled condition of health, was too much for him to endure; and although one of the objects of taking it, was for the improvement of his health, the reverse was probably the effect from it. Soon after his return from California, business called him to Washington, from which place, in the month of September, he returned very much

prostrated. He immediately put himself under medical treatment, and for a time, his friends had entire confidence in his recovery to perfect health.

The last extended conversation the writer had with Mr. Hopkins was on the 18th of November, 1869. He was then comfortable, cheerful and hopeful. He was confident that he would be able to resume his seat in Congress during the month of December. Soon after this, he experienced a relapse, and one side became partially paralyzed. There was a slight rallying from this prostration; but only sufficient to kindle a hope in the minds of his friends, to be immediately blasted. The best of medical skill, and the kindest attention that relatives and friends could bestow, were of no avail. Death had marked him as an early victim, and no human power could save him. On Christmas day, I met him for the last time in life. Though his friends were then hopeful, there seemed but little reason for it. He lingered till the opening of the New Year! He awoke on the morning of the first of January with the assurance firmly fixed in his own mind, that he must soon die! He told his friends that such was the case; and, at about four o'clock in the afternoon of that bright New Year's day, in the full consciousness of his condition, surrounded by kind friends, he spoke pleasant words to all, bade them an affectionate adieu, and his lamp of life went peacefully out! Thus, without pain, without a struggle, in the fullest confidence in a happy and blessed future, our friend entered into his eternal rest.

I have thus imperfectly glanced at some of the leading features in the life of Mr. Hopkins. It would doubtless be the unanimous judgment of men, that such capacity and experience as were possessed by the friend we mourn, ought to be spared for the direction of succeeding generations. But the law of Providence does not so direct. No amount of talent and experience is any security against death! It is a consolation to know that our esteemed friend lived so long and died so full of honors! His career, we trust, is not yet ended. He, who spoke the universe into existence; who said "Let there be

light, and there was light;" who created man in His own image; breathed into him the breath of life, and gave him dominion over the earth, may have called our friend to another sphere, for higher and nobler duties! We may yet experience the benefit of his love, if not of his care. It is but a step from one life to another; which all alike, must follow, from the least unto the greatest! Happy will it be for us, if, in sharing the common lot, we close our earthly career, leaving the evidences of having lived a life so useful, and so honorable as was that of him, whose loss we mourn.

From the example left us by our deceased friend and brother member of this Society, may we all learn that life is not in length of days, but in deeds; that an early grave, found in the service of our country and of God, is better than a long life of self-indulgence; that he who dies with uplifted arm against iniquity, *dies* not, but becomes immortal.

Honored and gifted man! true patriot! faithful friend! hail! and farewell.

Resolutions

After the reading of the address, Messrs. Samuel D. Hastings, George B. Smith, and Lyman C. Draper, were appointed a committee to report appropriate resolutions, who, through Hon. Samuel D. Hastings, submitted the following, which were unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved,* That in the death of Hon. B. F. Hopkins, this Society has lost an active and useful member and former officer, the Congress of the United States an able and valuable member, the Second Congressional District an industrious and faithful representative, the State at large one of its most widely known and influential public men, and the city of Madison one of its most useful, beloved and honored citizens, one who did much to promote its prosperity, and who by his public spirit and large-hearted, yet unobtrusive benevolence, made his influence felt among all classes, both in public and in private.

"*Resolved*, That the able and interesting paper touching the life, character and public services of Hon. B. F. Hopkins, read

before this Society, this evening, by the Hon. David Atwood, be published in the next volume of the Society's Transactions.

"*Resolved,* That a copy of the foregoing resolutions be forwarded to the widow of the deceased."

Memoir of G. De Witt Elwood*

By Samuel D. Hastings

In response to a request from the chairman of the committee on Obituaries, I present to the State Historical Society, a brief notice of the life, character and public services of the late Senator Elwood, of Green Lake county.

Mr. Elwood was born in Minden, Montgomery county, New York, on the 23rd day of May, 1818, of parents descended from English, German, French and Swiss ancestors, and died at his residence in Green Lake county, of consumption, on the 31st day of March, 1868, in the 50th year of his age. His father who was a farmer, died before he was two years of age, and G. De Witt spent his boyhood on the farm and at common schools.

Mainly by his own exertions, principally by teaching, he spent four years at Cazenovia Seminary and Fairfield Academy, preparing himself to enter the senior class in college, but owing to a chronic inflammation of the eyes, he was compelled to abandon his purpose. In July, 1849, he was happily married, and in September of that year, came to Wisconsin, and settled at the village of Hamilton, about a mile and a half below Princeton, and continued to reside in different places in Green Lake county until his death.

During almost the entire period of his residence in the State, he was occupied in some important public position. He first filled the office of County Surveyor, afterward that of Justice of the Peace, and Town Superintendent of Schools. In the fall of 1856, he was elected Register of Deeds of the old county of Marquette. This office, and that of Register of Deeds of Green

* Read before the Society November 15, 1870.

Lake county he held for four full terms, eight consecutive years, and up to the time he was elected to the State Senate. He was Deputy County Treasurer during his last two terms as Register. In the truthful words of another, "In the register's office Mr. Elwood was eminently the right man in the right place; and here too, he was entirely at home. For this situation he had certainly very rare qualifications: here he was always dignified, yet courteous and obliging, always at his post, and always ready and prompt to discharge his duties. Here matters, which to most other men would have been abstruse and difficult, were to him plain and easy. Every act was performed with wonderful ease, and with almost mathematical accuracy and precision, and so quietly and apparently easy did he move along in the discharge of his duties, that he caused us to forget that he, with a distressing, persistent disease, constantly and painfully active, and with a broken physical constitution, was performing labor that would have severely taxed the bodily and mental powers of a strong, healthy man."

I very much doubt whether the duties of the office of Register of Deeds, were ever, in this State, or anywhere else, better performed than they were by Mr. Elwood. His penmanship was most perfect, and for public records was equaled by that of few and surpassed by none. The accuracy and neatness with which all his work was done were most remarkable.

In the fall of 1864, Mr. Elwood was elected to the State Senate, and represented in that body, for two years, the nineteenth Senatorial District. His superior business qualifications, his great industry, promptness and faithfulness rendered him admirably adapted for usefulness in his new field of labor. Upon his first introduction into the Senate, he was made chairman of the committee on Legislative Expenditures, and a member of the important committees on Finance, and on Education, School and University Lands, and during the session was chairman of several special committees, to whom measures of great importance were referred.

One of the most important acts of the Legislature of 1865, was the passage of "A bill to dispose of the swamp and over-

flowed lands and the proceeds therefrom." The question as to the proper disposition to be made of these lands, had been the subject of much discussion for many years. There was scarcely any question in which the people of the State generally were more interested, and in relation to which there was a greater diversity of interest and of views. At each session of the Legislature for several years previous to 1865, measures had been introduced with a view of making some satisfactory disposition of these lands, but always without success. During the session of 1862, a bill was passed through both houses, giving the whole of these lands to the counties in which they were situated, but the veto of Gov. Harvey prevented it becoming a law. Gov. Harvey's message to the Legislature containing his veto of this measure was one of the ablest and most statesman-like documents he ever sent forth, and one for which he was entitled to the thanks of the people, and for which his memory should ever be held in grateful remembrance.

The bill which was passed in 1865, originated in the Assembly As first introduced, it was very imperfect, containing many crude and impracticable provisions. Many long and earnest consultations were had over it by men from all parts of the State, but in putting it into the form in which it finally passed, thus making it acceptable to the people of the State generally, and putting to rest forever a question that had occasioned so much feeling and so much earnest discussion, the clear head and plain practical common sense of Mr. Elwood had a controlling influence. The carrying into effect of the provisions of the law rested with the Commissioners of School and University Lands, but before any division of the lands or funds could be made, a proper basis had to be established in harmony with the several provisions of the act.

To establish this basis was a work requiring a vast amount of the most careful, skillful and accurate labor; a task for which comparatively few men were competent, and when the Commissioners met to decide whom they should call upon to

perform this most difficult work, they could think of no one so well adapted to its performance as Mr. Elwood. In response to their call, he came to Madison in the summer of 1865, and did the work in a most correct and satisfactory manner. The original document in the handwriting of Mr. Elwood, on file in the School Land Office at the Capitol, is a model of neatness and accuracy.

At the commencement of the session of 1866, Mr. Elwood was placed at the head of the committee on Education, School and University Lands of the Senate—a position of great importance, and one which his interest in the general subject of education rendered him peculiarly qualified to fill.

Among other important measures introduced by Mr. Elwood at this session of the Legislature, two may be mentioned as showing his watchful care of the trust funds of the State: First, the "transfer of the expenses incurred in the management of the trust funds of the State, and the lands belonging thereto from the School and University Funds to the General Fund;" and, second, the raising of "a tax to pay to the School Fund the amount which was retained by the United States, from the five per cent paid in its settlement with the State."

As a legislator, Mr. Elwood had few equals and no superiors. He was always in his seat when the Senate was in session and his place was never vacant at the meetings of the committees with which he was connected. Always prompt, industrious, efficient and conscientious, with his superior business qualifications, clear head and excellent practical common sense, he was much respected by his associates, and soon became one of the most honored and influential members of the Senate.

To quote again the fitting words of another:

"In private life Mr. Elwood was highly esteemed. He was strictly and exemplarily moral, a kind and obliging neighbor, an intelligent and agreeable associate, and in all respects a good citizen. But however much he may be missed as a public man and private citizen, and however much his intimate

acquaintances outside his family circle will be affected by his death, it is in that family circle that his loss will be most lastingly and painfully felt; for here it is best known with what fortitude he bore up against bodily disease and constant suffering, and with what ceaseless efforts he devoted his abilties to the comfort and happiness of every member of his family."

In his younger days he was very active in the cause of education and temperance, and in this State was prominent in organizing one of the first temperance societies in Green Lake county. He never lost interest in either cause; but his great infirmity—asthma—hindered him much in public speaking. In politics he was a Whig, until the organization of the Republican party, when he identified himself with it. In political life, as elsewhere, he acted from convictions of duty. No influence could sway him from what he considered the right course.

I knew him as a correspondent of the State Treasurer's office several years before I had the opportunity to form his personal acquaintance, and so clearly were the noble traits of his character exhibited even in his business letters, that I learned to honor and esteem him long before we met.

In his ordinary intercourse with his fellow men, he was quiet and retiring; with his intimate friends he was genial, frank and confiding. His benevolence was so unobtrusive, that but few knew what he did in that direction. No one could be much with him without being impressed with the conviction that he was an upright, conscientious man, striving to discharge faithfully the duties which he owed to his God, his country, and to those around him, and few men, in their practice, came nearer to fulfilling their duty than he did.

He lived the life of a good and true man, and died, sustained by a Christian's hope of a blessed immortality beyond the grave. In his death the State has lost one of its best and most useful citizens; one who did much to promote its prosperity—whose deeds will live after him, and whose example it will ever be safe to follow.

The following resolution offered by Hon. G. B. Smith, passed unanimously:

"*Resolved*, That in the death of the late Hon. G. De Witt Elwood we recognize an able and conscientious man, one who in the discharge of the duties of the various public positions to which he was called by the suffrages of his fellow citizens, as well as in his social and private relations, set an example of industry and faithfulness worthy of the imitation of all, and that in his death, the county in which he resided, as well as the State at large, has met with a great loss.

"*Resolved*, That a copy of the foregoing resolution be forwarded to the family of the deceased."

Civil Life, Services and Character of William A. Barstow*

By Edward M. Hunter

I approach this subject with great diffidence. A sketch comprehending only the outlines of those occurrences crowded into the eventful years of Gov. Barstow's political life which aroused the passions and affected the interests of our people, would fill a volume. I can only hope to furnish a few of the salient points in his career, and leave to the historian of the future much to which I would willingly refer and dwell upon. The space also to which I am limited in your volume, leaves no choice but to confine myself to the most important incidents in his life, alone.

Gov. Barstow came of an excellent family who had their ancestral seat at Naburn Hall, York, England, and their descendants are still to be found in the West Riding of Yorkshire. There were four brothers who left their home in 1635; two of whom, George and William, came over in the "True Love" from London, and landed at Boston in that year. It does not appear whether John Barstow, the ancestor of our Governor, came on that vessel with the brothers named or not, but the records show that at or about that time, he came and settled in the Province near them. William A. Barstow, the father of the subject of this sketch, was one of a family of seven brothers, all of whom served in the patriot army in the Revolutionary War; and William, when a boy of but fourteen years,

* Read before the Society February 21, 1870.

was one of a company of militia, and with a musket on his shoulder marched to aid in the defence of New London, at the time Benedict Arnold was ravaging the sea coast and destroyed that town.

His son, William Augustus Barstow, whose career we now propose to trace, was born at Plainfield, a village in Windham county, Connecticut, on the 13th of September, 1813; he died at Leavenworth, in the State of Kansas, on the 13th of December, 1865, and but a few months after he had visited for the last time this State, which he continued to the end to call his home. His father was a farmer, and William A. had, with his brothers, no other advantages of education than those afforded by the common schools of the period, and they even, were confined to the winter season, as during the summer their labor was required upon the farm.

Here William continued with the family until he attained the age of sixteen years, when he left his home, and became a clerk in the store of his brother, Samuel H. Barstow, now of Waukesha, at Norwich, Connecticut, and where he remained for the period of four years.

In April, 1834, he gave up his position as clerk for his brother, removed to Cleveland, Ohio, and entered into business with Horatio N. Barstow, an elder brother who had preceded him there. Here for about five years, the firm in which he was a partner, carried on a very extensive business as millers and forwarders. They ranked high as energetic and honorable business men, and were only compelled at last to suspend by the calamity which overwhelmed all those extensively engaged in manufacturing and traffic at that period. This brother, Horatio N., was subsequently drowned at the Red River Raft in Arkansas, when engaged in the execution of a contract he had entered into with the General Government. He was a man of extraordinary energy, enterprise and sagacity —in many of his traits resembling strongly the subject of this sketch—who always, mingled with the affection of a brother, entertained toward him the highest admiration for his com-

manding talents, and the regret he carried with him was deep and heartfelt at his loss.

In the month of November, 1839, Gov. Barstow removed from Cleveland. He had previously gathered much and accurate information relative to the then young and distant Territory of Wisconsin, and by it was induced to recommence the struggle for fortune here, among the hardy pioneers who had preceded him and located their homes in the wilderness of the frontier. On reaching Wisconsin, he fixed his residence at the then so-called "village" of Prairieville, consisting of a little cluster of houses, and assisted by some of his enterprising friends at Cleveland, purchased water power at the former point, together with a very considerable portion of the 160 acres now covered by the flourishing village of Waukesha, into which Prairieville has since been metamorphosed.

Here, under his supervision, a flouring-mill was erected, considered at that time to be the best one outside of Milwaukee; and here he continued for a number of years actively engaged in the milling and mercantile business, rapidly extending his circle of acquaintance, and formed those ties of enduring friendship which were strengthened by time, and terminated only with his life. Many of the "old settlers" are still among us, who can recall the many and varied acts of kindness and generosity by which those ties were created. It was a new country, and the pioneer had more of hardships and want to encounter than the most of us can now realize, and Mr. Barstow's occupation as miller and merchant made him cognizant of much of that distress and wretchedness which his generous hand never failed to relieve, and that too when the chances for repayment were poor indeed. Those prostrated by the sickness incident to a new country, and discouraged by the failure of crops or other means upon which they had depended, knew not elsewhere to turn in their distress, never applied to him in vain. Of this there is evidence in abundance, and neither was it forgotten, when in the later time, those he had thus aided could show their sense of his generosity by the support they gave him at the polls.

In those days, which to many of us, in the retrospect, seem but as yesterday, railroads were not dreamed of, and the plank-road was an improvement yet to be reached. The settler was then isolated for a goodly portion of the year, and when the Lake steamers ceased their trips in the fall, the inhabitants were cut off almost entirely from the outside civilization. The stages of Frink, Walker & Co., it is true, toiled through and brought the mails from the east, and an occasional passenger from abroad; but so far as the mass of the people were concerned, they were as completely cut off from the home in the East whence most of them had immigrated, as if a thousand miles of unhospitable desert stretched between. The merchant whose stock had proved inadequate to the demand would sometimes venture the journey to New York, but it was an undertaking of magnitude canvassed by the entire community, and not unfrequently occupied several weeks from Milwaukee to the former city. It cost often an entire day of toilsome travel to reach Prairieville from Milwaukee—the vast metropolis of 2,500 souls; and as the shades of evening gathered, the camp fires of the farmer or teamster from the interior were lighted along the lonely road; none dared to encounter the perils of the "Milwaukee Woods" without the light of day to assist him through its devious navigation.

In a small and isolated community such as Waukesha was, the miller and merchant combined was a personage of no small importance, and had frequent opportunity for the exhibition of his true character, whether kindly and charitable or the reverse. We have stated what the habit of Gov. Barstow was in this respect at the period mentioned, and such acts do not always die and become lost, when he who was the willing giver has passed away forever. The sight of suffering he could not endure, and none existed where he could prevent or remedy it. A single instance of his readiness to assist those who needed aid must suffice for my relation here. Mrs. Jackson, whose husband, the postmaster at the village, had died soon after Mr. Barstow's arrival, was left with but scanty means for the support of herself and children. The active politicians were sur-

prised when it became known that the new-comer had, unasked, through his acquaintance with Gov. Dodge, secured the office for one who needed it most, and whose ability to discharge the duties connected with it was unquestioned. Instances of a like character could be repeated were it necessary, that would fill a volume. He was known and respected for other traits than those of kindness and generosity, however. He was the true and loyal friend who never made "the promise to the ear, but broke it to the hope"—the acute, far-sighted counsellor, and the honorable and upright judge, to whom all were willing to refer their causes of difference.

Such a man could not fail soon to become widely known, and he rapidly attained to rank among the foremost of those who controlled the affairs of the village and county. He held at one time the office of Postmaster, and which he retained until he surrendered it into the hands of the late Postmaster General Randall, then a young man commencing the practice of the law at Prairieville. He was appointed one of the three Commissioners of the County of Milwaukee, which then embraced what is now Waukesha county within its limits, and which was prior to the adoption of the supervisor system. He was prominent and efficient in the movement which resulted in the creation of the county of Waukesha by its being taken from the territorial area of Milwaukee. Until he changed his residence and removed to Madison, he took an active part in all matters concerning the welfare of the county, and never lost the deep interest he felt in the locality which had been his first home in the new State of his adoption.

In April, 1844, he was married to Miss Maria Quarles, of Southport, as it was then known, now the city of Kenosha.

In the fall of 1849, Mr. Barstow was nominated by the Democratic State convention for the office of Secretary of State upon the ticket with Governor Dewey, and succeeding in the canvass, and entering upon the discharge of the duties of the office, found its affairs in the condition of chaos. His clear and methodical mind soon brought order out of confusion, and with patient, and untiring labor, he, with his own

hand, wrote out in the most complete and finished manner nearly the full record of the office up to the moment when it came under his control.

During his term of office as Secretary, the school lands belonging to the State were brought into market to be sold under the supervision of the three Commissioners, of which he by virtue of his position became one, and it was a work of more than ordinary magnitude to arrange all of the complicated details necessary to the perfection of a system which was to render the State and purchaser secure in their several rights. That he and his associates did their duty well has been long conceded, and the care taken by them in examining the security offered by those desiring loans is evidenced by the fact that, as I believe to be the case, not a dollar of the fund so placed upon loan by them was ever lost. In all of the details connected with this important matter, the clear and business-like mind of Gov. Barstow was never at fault, and his associates, seldom if ever found occasion to differ from his rapid but always accurate judgment. The School and University land matters connected with our State, bear from the first the impress of his careful supervision, and to him more than to any other person belongs the credit of the system adopted, and which now governs in the control of that department.

Some time subsequent to the expiration of his term of office as Secretary of State, he became interested in the Fox and Wisconsin Improvement, and for a time bent his energies toward the completion of that important work in connection with some other active business men and contractors. I have not material at hand from which I could obtain any particulars of the extent of the work performed by him and his associates. I can only now recall the fact, that it was accepted, and at the time was highly spoken of as being the best work which had, up to that period, been completed along the line of the improvement. He never lost his interest in this great enterprise, now recognized by thoughtful and experienced engineers as a work of truly national importance, and second as such to but few, crowded, as our country is, with enterprises of gigantic

magnitude and interest to the entire commercial world. He saw its importance at that early day, and wherever and whenever called upon, his voice and efforts were always ready to advance it. Throughout his messages to the Legislature are scattered ample evidences of this fact.

He was an earnest advocate of the first railroad enterprise in our State, and was among the foremost of those who lent their influence toward securing the charter of the Milwaukee and Mississippi Railroad, and as one of the original subscribers to the capital stock, and one of the first directors of the Company, his efficient aid was of importance in its early struggle for existence.

But it was not alone in enterprises of interest to the State that his acute and comprehensive mind foresaw the agencies of vast usefulness in the future. While the great Pacific Railway yet seemed even to the sanguine as the work of a generation, and to the doubting as one too stupendous to be undertaken he urged our Legislature in stirring language, to memorialize Congress in its behalf. It was in 1856 he wrote in his annual message: "I know of no enterprise so well calculated to add to the resources of the whole country, nor any which can approximate to it in the rapidity with which it would develop the same. It would become literally a highway of nations, and the treasures of either hemisphere would seek a passage across it to find their mart in the other. The increase of material wealth in the country, by the opening up of the almost boundless regions of the West, will set calculation at defiance; and while this will add to our power as a people, it will furnish another link in the chain which binds us together as a common whole."

To anticipate somewhat in the order of time, it may not be out of place, in this connection, to mention an enterprise with which he was prominently connected, and which but for untoward circumstances, would long ere this have been completed, and would have added many millions to our wealth as a State, and contributed immensely to the welfare, population, and material growth of the northwestern portion of our country.

In 1855, if my memory serves me correctly, Gov. Barstow was chosen President of the St. Croix and Lake Superior Railroad Company, and immediately set on foot energetic measures to advance that important enterprise. By his active aid a valuable land grant was secured, the route surveyed and established, and the contract let for the entire length from Hudson to Superior City, to responsible contractors, who were speedily on the ground with a large force of men and with ample material to grade the road. A liberal offer from responsible parties in Canada was made to furnish the iron, and there was every prospect of a speedy completion of that important work. Rival parties, through the exercise of agencies which I will not stop to characterize in the manner they deserve, by playing upon the unquestioning good faith and confidence in others which Gov. Barstow always entertained in too great a degree for his own welfare, succeeded in obtaining control of the land grant and ultimately of the road. The result of this we are all now acquainted with; but it is as certain as any calculation for the future in this life can be, if the St. Croix road had been left where it rightfully belonged, under the control of Gov. Barstow and his associates, that a city would now adorn the Bay of Superior—the northwestern portion of our State echo with the hum of varied industry, and the Northern Pacific Railway have reached its terminus on the shore of the Western Ocean. But such was not to be the case—the fates were against him, and it is but poor consolation that the result of bad faith and rivalry in business, and other matters of personal concernment, resulted in the downfall of those who caused the disaster to themselves, and the interests they controlled, and retarded, for probably a quarter of a century, the growth and development of so large a portion of our State. All that he claimed for the Pacific road would have been accomplished sooner than it was, and one of its termini would have been within the limits of the State of Wisconsin.

In 1853 he was nominated as Governor by the Democratic State Convention over his opponent, the then late State Treasurer, Col. Jairus C. Fairchild, and he was elected to that

honorable position. He took his seat in January, 1854, and the troubled portion of a hitherto peaceful, if somewhat chequered career began.

Up to this period the Democracy had been the leading party in Wisconsin; for Gov. Farwell, whose administration had just closed, was elected as a no-party man, and was in fact a moderate Whig at a time when the distinction between the party to which he belonged and the Democracy had been obliterated. New elements were now rapidly forming, destined to sweep away all past issues, and new leaders of a new party were arraying those forces under new war cries before which the time-honored Democracy were doomed to go down, and for a time be crushed. The growing feeling of sectional hatred was accelerated and embittered by demagogues in either section North and South, and the efforts of the more conservative who then stood shoulder to shoulder with Gov. Barstow, were powerless to prevent or correct it. The ferocity which then characterized party effort and feeling in national matters, unavoidably permeated the politics of our own State, and was finally aided by local causes which created a state of feeling dangerous to the continuance of peace in our midst. The first year of his administration was, however, one of comparative quiet in matters of State concernment, and none dreamed of the evil in store for us in the then near future.

Who, then resident amongst us, does not remember the virulent attacks made upon the State administration after this time, and during the latter part of Governor Barstow's first term? And who now credits a tithe of the charges then made? The air was filled with the cries of "School Land frauds," "Insane Asylum frauds," and following shortly after, "Robbery of the State Treasury," and what not? So bitter and persistent were the attacks, that men reading but the party press antagonistic to Governor Barstow, became so biased as to believe that the State Government was controlled at that period by a class of men under his leadership, whose proper place was the inside of the prison at Waupun. He was subjected to unqualified denunciation for the interest he exhibited in securing

accurate scientific research, and the care he took of the great mineral interest of the State, by the removal of an objectionable appointee, and the selection of that eminent scholar and accomplished geologist, Dr. James G. Percival. In this, as in all other matters, his sound judgment was vindicated by the result. The first report, issued by that profound and laborious professor, silenced the voice of party clamor; but none of those who created it were generous or magnanimous enough to admit the error or correct the wrong. It is unnecessary, and would be profitless, to enter upon the details of these matters now. It is enough to state, as the records of the time establish, that the most thorough investigation thereafter, conducted by men anxious to discover and establish as facts the wholesale charges made, failed utterly in bringing to light a single action of Governor Barstow's which did not square with his duty. He had time and again in vain urged the Legislature to a thorough investigation of the manner in which the business of the several departments had been conducted, and the result of all these researches when at last made, directed in the spirit I have indicated, resulted, as men now know, in finding the loose keeping of the treasury accounts to be the only fault, and whether the administration of Governor Farwell should not have been held accountable for even this, was never known.

It may not be amiss for me in this connection to state, that intimate as I necessarily was with all that was done or considered in the Executive Office during the time Gov. Barstow retained his position,* there was nothing done or proposed affecting the public interest, but what might have been printed in the largest type, and hung upon the outer wall of the Capitol for the inspection of all. He, during that period, neither counseled, took into consideration, nor did a public wrong—and his children need never fear to direct the closest scrutiny toward his acts as Governor of Wisconsin. When he first entered upon the discharge of the duties of the office he was in comfortable circumstances—when he left it he was poor, and was harassed for the want of means, and all that he subse-

* Colonel Hunter, as is well known, was Governor Barstow's private secretary.—L. C. D.

quently secured and *lost* did not repay him the amount he expended during his official term from his private purse.

In the fall of 1855, Gov. Barstow was again placed in nomination as chief executive officer of the State, by a large majority of those composing the Democratic Convention, and who thereby endorsed, so far as it was possible at that time to endorse, his course as Governor, and evinced their determination to stand by him in the appeal he desired to make to the people of the State. In this, those best acquainted with Gov. Barstow, will recognize a peculiar trait of the man's character. If his administration had glided along peacefully and unopposed, as did those of his predecessors, he would have cared little for a re-election. His ambition sufficiently gratified by his first election, would have rested there. But all of the bitterest elements of political partisanship had been aroused in opposition to him; he had been accused of offences against every proper rule of public and private conduct which the ingenuity of hatred could devise; the ordinary vocabulary of abuse was exhausted, and invention was strained to fashion epithets the better to designate a new class of offenders incapable of an upright thought or action. "Barstow and the balance" became, under the vigorous manipulation of the opposition, a hydra-headed monster fit only to be damned by universal execration.

He was fully conscious of the wrong done him; and this determined and furious opposition aroused the combative element which was never wanting in Gov. Barstow's character, and with the party which had placed him in nomination fully endorsing his past record, he entered fearlessly upon a canvass which stirred up the passions of the conflicting parties to a far greater degree than had ever before been witnessed within this State.

It resulted in his being declared the choice of the people by the State canvassers, whose duty it was to count the votes, and declare which of the contestants had been elected. At any other time in our history there would have no question arisen; for either the majority would have been so decided as to leave

no room for doubt, or no one would have dreamed of questioning the decision of those whose sworn duty it was to decide, and decide finally; or deemed it possible to resort to another tribunal whose acceptance of, and action upon the matter, was considered by many thoughtful men and accomplished jurists, to be little, if any, short of revolutionary. But we had arrived at the verge of revolutionary times, and were rapidly being drawn toward the vortex wherein the entire fabric of our Government was to be endangered. The minds of men were unsettled, and the feverish restlessness was confined to no one class, and affected even the Judiciary. So highly had the passions of men been wrought up by the political contest in which we were emersed, that it was at one time here dangerously near a collision; and those who were then best cognizant of the prevailing feeling, well knew that had a drop of blood been shed here—one life of a partisan on either side been taken in anger, the flame of civil war would have broken out, and would have raged until quenched, as it always has been and must be. It was well, perhaps, that the Kansas and Nebraska excitement directed the minds of those comprising political parties elsewhere, and furnished the avenue for an outlet of prevailing excitement throughout the other portions of the country. The intense feeling existing here, would under other circumstances, have aroused the attention of partisans abroad, and the outside stimulus have added fuel to feed our domestic discord, already sufficiently alarming.

But fortunately, perhaps, the crisis passed without any open demonstration or serious collision. The decision of the State canvassers was over-ruled by the judgment of the Supreme Court, which had assumed to take the evidence presented by the one party claimant, Mr. Coles Bashford—and entertaining jurisdiction against the earnest protest of Gov. Barstow on behalf of the executive authority, and in defence of the system of Government under which we lived, proceeded to render its decision.

There was none to contest its determination. Gov. Barstow, under the influence of counsel, hastily, if in all instances

honestly given, and as hastily but certainly conscientiously acted upon, had resigned, and Gov. Arthur McArthur did not choose to contest its mandate.

It is not pleasant to recur to these disastrous days—at least not to one, who may be pardoned the egotism of saying, that what he alludes to he saw, and was, to a certain extent, a part of; the errors which were committed, and which might have been avoided—the hasty action which subsequent reflection condemned, though done in all honesty are not pleasant subjects for consideration now, in view of the important results which might have followed a different course of conduct.

The so called "trial" was an ably managed political performance at which the most prominent actors secretly sneered, while gloating over the revenge thereby secured for fancied wrongs. In this I do not intend to reflect upon the integrity of those then constituting the Supreme Court; if living, I believe they would, upon a proper occasion furnished, reverse their action. The fierce pertinacity with which a one-sided controversy was pressed, at a time of terrible party excitement, overcame their cooler judgment, as I have good reason to believe. But I cannot forget that it was the leading counsel for the relator, whose efforts gave respectability, and whose great legal attainments lent the sanction to, what was merely party action, utterly without precedent in the history of our political system in the past, as I trust it will be in the future, without example. It will be an evil day for our country that sees the power there assumed by the court recognized and adopted; but I, for one, believe the memory of Governor Barstow will be more honored in the coming time for the eloquent protest he then uttered against judicial usurpation, than for any other one act of his life. And that time may come sooner than we anticipate, when, under our elective system, partisan judges, in attempting to carry out the behests of those who made them, will bring on a contest which can be settled but in one way if we are to remain a free people, and the memory of Barstow will be honored then by all who truly cherish and understand our system of Government.

With his resignation, Gov. Barstow passed from the active discharge of public duties, but he remained still the recognized leader of the party which had stood by him in the past. The great mass of those composing that organization never questioned the motives which guided him in his action, and throughout all his adversity trusted entirely in the man whose career was so closely connected with its latest hopeful struggle for ascendancy. The passions of the hour have died out, and with them all that was inimical to Barstow—and men are now ready to believe the truth—that he was subjected to grievous abuse without cause, and condemned for no real fault of his own.

In 1857 he removed to Janesville, and for a short time engaged in connection with Hon. Alexander T. Gray, the Secretary of State during his first term, and myself, in the business of banking, with the result that might easily have been predicted by any one acquainted with Gov. Barstow's generosity, and the profound knowledge of the business possessed by his associates. A short time prior to the civil war, he resumed at Janesville his old business of milling, for which he always retained a strong partiality, and which was his latest regular occupation up to the time when he felt called upon to enroll himself among the defenders of the Union he reverenced above all things earthly. The military portion of his career I must leave to other and abler hands than mine to record.

Gov. Barstow was by nature cast in a conservative mould, and in the best sense of the expression he *was* a conservative. He believed in holding fast to those principles which time had demonstrated to be salutary. He dreaded the effect of innovation and experiment, and denounced the disposition to change, unless it appeared that positive benefit was to be derived from its exercise. He had, considering his busy life and limited opportunities, thought much upon the science of Government. and considered the fixedness of established principles and laws, of paramount importance. Not for insuring the immediate well being of the people alone, but to engrave upon their

minds that reverence for their authority which constant change would have a tendency to undermine. A respect for Government he held to be essential to its existence, and he deemed constant and radical changes in the laws to be incompatible with its continuance. He would hold fast to that which was proved, and hence his deeply rooted reverence for the Constitution, and his opposition to unnecessary legislation, which were exhibited in all his messages, and notably so in 1855, when he wrote: "The certainty of a law is one of the chief benefits to be derived from it, and it is not clear but that it would be better for a community to suffer the existence of bad laws, than to live under a system which is subjected to continued alterations." He, with all his conservative tendencies, believed fully in the capacity of the people for self-government, and which is clearly expressed in connection with the rebuke he conveyed to the "Know Nothing Party," as it was then called, in his message delivered in 1856, which I will not now stop to repeat.

It will become apparent to any one who will take sufficient pains to peruse his messages to the Legislature, that no matter of interest to the State ever escaped his careful attention; nothing was overlooked, and there is one monument of his unyielding and praiseworthy devotion to the well-being of an unfortunate class amongst us, in the Lunatic Asylum—an evidence as well of the wise and liberal charity of the State, within sight of the Capitol. In the face of determined opposition, which at one time extended so far as even to repeal the act which had been passed by a former Legislature upon his urgent recommendation, and to which he promptly interposed the power of the veto—he by his firmness retained in existence that highly necessary institution upon the ground where his influence had established it. It would be no ungraceful recognition of his services should the Legislature see fit to attach to it his name as a lasting memento of the man to whose efforts its erection at that time is principally owing, and who was subjected to so great and undeserved abuse on its account. Neither should this Society be backward in lending what aid it can toward preserving his memory during the coming time,

for among those to whose efforts its existence is owing, none were more earnest and active in its behalf, and he freely used the influence his position gave him, toward securing it the proud place it now occupies among its kindred associations.*

With this hasty and imperfect sketch, I must bid adieu to one, who was, as all who knew him can vouch, no ordinary man; and those who knew him intimately will bear testimony not only to his superior gifts of intelligence, but to the unsurpassed goodness of his heart as well, and to his sterling integrity. Although not classically educated, but few not accomplished scholars could detect the fact, and his State papers will compare favorably with any in this country in their style of composition, as none are clearer in their statements of matters necessary to be considered, and few their equals in breadth of view and far-sighted comprehension of the wants and necessities of the future.

Bred up as a business man merely, and close and accurate in all of its details, he had yet the catholic comprehension of a statesman, and grasped with the intuitive instinct of a superior mind all the graver questions of State or national importance, and solved them with a sagacity seldom at fault. His common sense never failed him; and if he committed errors, it sometimes happened that he was aware of it, but could not allow his judgment to stand in the way of the kindly impulses of his heart which the former condemned.

As I have already stated, he was generous to a fault, and his was one of those rare natures which will sacrifice the interest of self to aid others; and if we can now, above his grave, when reviewing his life, condemn him for anything, it is for this—that he allowed this quality to control him to too great an extent, and was injured most by the excess of a trait of rarest virtue. He was incapable of deceit, and unfortunately for himself he could not appreciate its existence in others; he was a gentleman, and would as soon think of committing a crime as to unnecessa-

* Prior to his gubernatorial service, Governor Barstow used to attend the early meetings of the Society, and took an active interest in them; approved, as Governor, the first appropriation to the Society; and, in his message of 1855, highly commended the Society as deserving greater legislative encouragement than had hitherto been accorded to it, and urged that a reasonable salary should be provided for the Corresponding Secretary. And in various other ways he continued to manifest his abiding interest in its prosperity.—L. C. D.

rily hurt the feeling of any one with whom he was thrown in contact; and though easily approached at all times, no one was ever allowed an undue familiarity, and there was always present with him that indescribable something which hedges around a man of superior intellect and natural refinement.

It may not became me to speak of him in those closer relations of father, husband and brother, but thrown as I was for a long time in necessarily intimate association with him, I can bear testimony that no family could ever sustain the loss of one more devoted in all these, than he was when the grave at last closed over him. He was a patriot, and would have sacrificed his life at any time to secure the continued union of these states under the Constitution; and the references made to it in his messages to the Legislature were not mere expressions used because they were common, but the heartfelt sentiments of the man, proved to be such in the last years of his life, and, when the time had come, to demonstrate their existence by action which left no room for doubt. He came of the stock composed of those men whose wisdom and valor created the Union, and it could not be that he would be found anywhere else than in the front rank of those prepared to die in its defence.

He is gone—and there is nothing for his sorrowing friends left to do, but to place their tribute to his memory upon record. That memory will, however, last long, and grow more venerable as time shall roll on its course, for his history is a part of that of the State while it was yet a Territory, and he has left his mark upon its youth as a state also, which will not be lost while it retains its history as such.

We who have known him so long and intimately, can as yet scarcely realize that the strong man whose noble form and kindly face we loved to greet has passed away forever. What would not such of us give, could we restore him as he was when first he entered this Capitol as its chief ruler at the time?

William A. Barstow's Military Services

By Elias A Calkins

I was appointed by the State Historical Society, immediately after the death of the late William A. Barstow, in 1865, to prepare his memoirs for publication. I was unable at the time, and until I left the State in 1867 for a prolonged absence, to procure the necessary materials, especially as to his earlier life, and my task was therefore left unfulfilled. The Hon. E. M. Hunter was then appointed to discharge the duty which I had neglected, and for which he was admirably qualified by his literary ability, and his personal and official intimacy with Govenor Barstow.

I regret to learn, however, that he has furnished only a fragment, though a most interesting and valuable one, and that his work terminates where a very important period of Governor Barstow's life began—with his entrance upon the military service of his country at the outbreak of the late Civil War. I learn also that I must furnish a supplementary fragment, covering that portion of his career, or that the story will go to the world but half told, and the records of the Society will remain incomplete. With this impulse, in the midst of pressing duties, and without any adequate books of reference or memoranda before me, I undertake to finish the task to which I was assigned some six years ago, and which has been commenced by another hand. Of course, I can supply but a meagre outline of the last four years of Governor Barstow's life, and I cannot furnish a precise date to any part of the narrative. I must add that my relations to him during that time render some egotistical allusions unavoidable.

In August, 1861, at the request of a number of gentlemen who desired to enter the volunteer army in a cavalry organi-

zation—for which their tastes and some study had adapted them—I visited the headquarters of Gen. Fremont, at St. Louis, with letters from Gov. Randall, certifying that I represented responsible persons interested in raising a force of cavalry, which the State authorities were not authorized to recruit and equip. I met Gov. Barstow at St. Louis, where he had been called by a business undertaking, and stated to him my mission. I was unable to procure any satisfactory reply from Gen. Fremont, and Gov. Barstow, who had several friends in military and civil life there, proposed to interest himself in the object I had in view, to which I cordially assented, and placed all the matters connected with it in his hands. He then made a proposition to Gen. Fremont to recruit, equip, mount and arm in Wisconsin a cavalry regiment, independent of State authority, except as to the commissions of officers, the expenses to be reimbursed by the Government; and his proposition was accepted. Gen. Simon Cameron was then Secretary of War, and about that time visited St. Louis, to inspect the affairs of Gen. Fremont's department, and Gov. Barstow's authority to raise the cavalry regiment was approved by him. Several weeks had, of course, elapsed, and it was October before Gov. Barstow returned to the State, when he established the camp rendezvous at Janesville, and issued notices of his readiness to receive recruits. Intelligence reached him almost immediately of the formation of several companies for his camp, when he was notified that his authority to raise the regiment had been revoked by the War Department. The recruits, of course, generally disbanded, and many went into other organizations. A few of the companies, however, retained their standing.

Gov. Barstow proceeded at once to Washington, and, after a short delay, procured a renewal of his authority to raise the regiment, with which he returned to the State. He was then commissioned as Colonel of the regiment, November 9, 1861. It was still some weeks before he could procure camp equipage, and the baffling delays had discouraged recruiting. These difficulties were, however, surmounted, and in December the

first companies entered camp. In January, 1862, the regiment was filled to the minimum, and in February the maximum was reached. The following is the roster of the regiment, when completely organized, as it left the State:

William A. Barstow, Colonel.
Richard H. White, Lieut. Colonel.
Elias A. Calkins, Major 1st Battalion.
Benjamin S. Henning, Major 2d Battalion.
John C. Schroeling, Major 3d Battalion.
Henry Sandes, Adjutant.
Asa W. Farr, Quartermaster.
Francis Quarles, Commissary.
Benoni O. Reynolds, Surgeon.
William H. Warner, 1st Assistant Surgeon.
Joseph S. Lane, 2d Assistant Surgeon.
Hiram W. Beers, Chaplain.
John D. Welch, Adjutant 1st Battalion.
William H. Thomas, Adjutant 2d Battalion.
Charles L. Noggle, Adjutant 3d Battalion.
Isaac Woodle, Quartermaster 1st Battalion.
Francis Quarles, Quartermaster 2d Battalion.
Augustus O. Hall, Quartermaster 3d Battalion.

Company A:

J. D. Dammon, Captain.
Robert Carpenter, 1st Lieutenant.
Leonard Morley, 2d Lieutenant.

Company B:

Alex F. David, Captain.
Wm. Wagner, 1st Lieutenant.
Lorenzo B. Reed, 2d Lieutenant.

Company C:

Edw. R. Stevens, Captain.
Jason Daniels, 1st Lieutenant.
Jas. B. Pond, 2d Lieutenant.

Company D:

Leander J. Shaw, Captain.
Fernando C. Kiser, 1st Lieutenant.
Byron H. Kilbourn, 2d Lieutenant.

Company E:

Ira Justin, Jr., Captain.
Alex. M. Pratt, 1st Lieutenant.
Leonard House, 2d Lieutenant.

Company F:

David S. Vittum, Captain.
Asa Wood, 1st Lieutenant.
Chas. O. Ferris, 2d Lieutenant.

Company G:

John P. Moore, Captain.
Hugh Calhoun, 1st Lieutenant.
Henry Goodsell, 2d Lieutenant.

Company H:
Nathan L. Stout, Captain.
Julius Giesler, 1st Lieutenant.
John W. Van Myers, 2d Lieutenant.

Company I:
Theodore Conkey, Captain.
Hudson Bacon, 1st Lieutenant.
Marshall M. Ehle, 2d Lieutenant.

Company K:
Ernest Off, Captain.
John P. McDonald, 1st Lieutenant.
Charles T. Clothier, 2d Lieutenant.

Company L:
Thomas Derry, Captain.
John D. Welch, 1st Lieutenant.
Jas. Campbell, 2d Lieutenant.

Company M:
Henry F. Rouse, Captain.
Wm. Schmidt, 1st Lieutenant.
Olaf Meyer, 2d Lieutenant.

The men were uniformed and armed, and partly mounted, at Janesville. In March, the regiment was ordered to proceed to St. Louis, and went on board two trains of cars for that purpose. During that night about five miles distant from Chicago, the forward train was thrown from the track, and several cars completely wrecked. The loss of life and the injury were terrific. Twelve men were killed outright, and large numbers were disabled and wounded more or less seriously.* When the bleak vernal daylight dawned, the sight was a sickening and horrible one. The dead men were buried and the wounded cared for as if it had been an action with the rebel enemy, and we proceeded on our dreary way. We could have surrendered our dead in battle without a murmur, and have blessed the cause in which they died. But it was melancholy that they should find their death in a ditch by the railway track, almost within sight of their desolated homes, and while the parting murmurs of those whom they had loved still lingered in their ears. Yet their death was no less a glorious one, and their ebbing blood was none the less poured out a libation to liberty.

* The newspapers at the time stated that ten persons were killed outright, one person died soon after, thirteen others more or less wounded, and several others slightly injured.—L. C. D.

A proposed demonstration in honor of the regiment at Chicago was abandoned, and two days afterward they reached St. Louis, and encamped on ground adjoining Benton Barracks. Here the equipment of the men, except as to horses, was finished, and they were drilled and disciplined by their subordinate commanders for service. Early in May the regiment was ordered to proceed to Fort Leavenworth, in Kansas, which they reached in good time, and they were there, at length, mounted, and were finally ready for the field.

Col. Barstow was, soon afterward, probably in June, 1862, appointed Provost Master General of Kansas. Martial law had been declared in consequence of the guerrilla warfare which raged along the Missouri border, and lawless desperadoes—some singly and some in small irregular bands—were committing depredations throughout the State. The various companies of the regiment were detailed to garrison scattered posts along the boundary between Kansas and Missouri, from Elwood, opposite St. Joseph, to Fort Scott. These detachments, under company and battalion commanders, were occasionally engaged with the enemy, while Col. Barstow remained in the discharge of his duties at Leavenworth.*

Late in July he started on a tour of inspection of the various posts at which regimental detachments were stationed, and reached Fort Scott about the 1st of August. The rebel commanders, Coffee and Tracy, were at that time engaged in a raid into Missouri, and threatened Fort Scott and the Kansas border. Their forces numbered about 2,000 men fit for duty, and irregular reserves scattered throughout the whole country. Capt. Conkey, of Col. Barstow's regiment, with a small force occupied Carthage, sixty miles southeast of Fort Scott. The rebels had passed around him, and had reached Montevallo, a place in Missouri, forty miles east of Fort Scott. Col.

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* It is related in the newspapers of the day, that when Colonel Barstow was marching in the summer of 1862, from Kansas City to Independence, observing a butternut straggler who seemed to be busy watching his movements, the Colonel asked him his business.

"Oh, I'm all right," said the butternut, thrusting his hands into his pockets for a paper, and adding, "I've taken the oath."

"Fall in here," growled the Colonel: "that is a sufficient ground of suspicion—I have lived a great many years, and no one has ever called on me to take the oath."

A good many straggling spies were disposed of in this way on the march to Independence.

L. C. D.

Barstow's forces at Fort Scott numbered about 500 men all told. He notified Capt. Conkey to fall back toward Fort Scott, and, with all the men that could be spared from the fort, marched to meet him. A place of junction called Church-in-the-Wood was designated, and it was proposed with the united forces to attack the rebels at Montevallo. By an unforeseen movement, however, the rebels occupied Church-in-the-Wood, which had been named as the rendezvous, and Captain Conkey selected another road by which to meet the main body under Col. Barstow. The two detachments in consequence missed each other, and Col. Barstow also failed to receive a notice sent him by Capt. Conkey, of the unexpected movement of the rebels, and the change in plan which it made necessary. Col. Barstow also afterwards formed the opinion that he had been misled by treacherous scouts. He found himself, before reaching the appointed place of junction, in the presence of a largely superior body of the enemy, both in his front and on his flank.

After a short engagement, finding that the enemy's wings were extending to cut him off from Fort Scott, he ordered a retreat, which soon, unfortunately, in spite of all his efforts, became a stampede, and he was forced to follow his troops in their bewildered flight. He narrowly escaped capture, and all his baggage, supplies and ambulances fell into the hands of the enemy. Dr. B. O. Reynolds, the skillful and accomplished surgeon of the regiment, in his attempts to save the hospital property, was captured, and carried away by the rebels several days' march. At a distant camp in Missouri he eluded their vigilance, and after some hardships and hair-breadth escapes, about three weeks later, reached the headquarters of the regiment at Leavenworth. Col. Barstow and all his command arrived at Fort Scott in safety the following day. Heavy reinforcements under Gen. Salomon also arrived, and the enemy evacuated, temporarily, that part of the country.

In September following, Col. Barstow was relieved from duty as Provost Marshal General. The lawlessness and violence from which the State suffered was not suppressed during

his administration; in fact, they rather increased than otherwise. The guerrilla forces of Quantrell were very numerous and active, and outlaws who were the refuse and "cow boys" of both armies, swarmed like pestilent vermin throughout the country. His successors produced smaller results, if possible, than he did. For a year afterward, during which Quantrell's sack of Lawrence occurred, a reign of terror prevailed along the entire border. Peace and quiet were not, in fact, restored till after the war closed.

After being relieved from Provost Marshal duty, Col. Barstow was assigned with several companies of his regiment to the First Brigade of the Army of the Frontier. This army was being organized for active field operations against the rebel army of Gens. Hindman, Shelby and Steele, who were forming on the banks of the Arkansas for a campaign to be carried northward into Missouri, and the objective point of which was the capture of St. Louis, and the overthrow of the Federal power west of the Mississippi river. Major B. S. Henning was left with a detachment of the regiment to garrison Fort Scott, and another detachment under Capt. N. L. Stout, formed the garrison of Fort Leavenworth. The main body of the regiment, with the balance of the field and staff officers, were included in the order to enter the field for active service.*

During the months of October and November, the Army of the Frontier moved by easy marches south-eastwardly, and at length, in the last days of November, found itself face to face with Hindman's army. The Federal forces occupied the broad fields and valleys into which the northern spurs of Boston Mountains extend. The rebels were generally in the ravines and mountain passes, and from these fastnesses they often sallied out, and sanguinary skirmishes ensued. These minor actions culminated in the bloody and decisive battle of Prairie Grove, which was fought on Sunday, December 7th. In this

* As one of the many evidences of the high regard of his men for Colonel Barstow, we may cite an extract from a published letter in the papers of the day from one of the regiment dated Mound City, Kansas, Sept. 15th, 1862: "We feel strong and ready for the conflict, having great confidence in Colonel Barstow, and a great love for the Union. Our Colonel has been tried, and we are satisfied of his bravery and judgment. We love him, and also the Lieutenant Colonel, White, and the Majors; and for them and our country we will press forward to the soldiers' grave or glory.

L. C. D.

battle the rebel force was completely broken and dispersed; its advance northward was permanently stayed, and it was not again re-organized for offensive operations. Its component parts fell back far southward, was driven from the Arkansas Valley the following year, and finally surrendered with Price and Kirby Smith at the close of the war.

The regiment during these operations was generally under my command. Camp duty and army fare told seriously upon Col. Barstow's health, and incapacitated him for the long rides and rough duties on which the men were ordered. He was, however, in such health, and possessed the confidence of the army commander to that extent, that he was placed in command of the camp of invalid reserves, including the teamsters and the guards of the baggage and supply trains at Rhea's Mills, when the army marched out to meet the enemy, and till the close of the battle of Prairie Grove. He rejoined the regiment the next day, at its place of bivouac on the battle-field, and resumed command. Other operations of considerable extent and magnitude followed, in which the regiment was constantly engaged, including the magnificent raid on the rebel camps in the Arkansas Valley and on Van Buren, which occupied the last days of December, 1862, and the first days of January, 1863. During a portion of this time, he was with the regiment, and a part of the time he was detained in camp by illness.

In the midst of these stirring events, and probably in the month of November of that year (1862), the regiment was encamped with the main body of the Army of the Frontier, at a point some forty or fifty miles southwest of Fayetteville. While there, I received a letter from a trusted adviser and intimate friend of Gov. Randall, and of his successor Gov. Harvey, enclosing a proposition that influences should be brought to bear, with Col. Barstow's consent, to procure his appointment as Brigadier General. It was suggested in the letter that enlistments were tardy, that the enforcement of the draft was unpopular, and that it was the policy of the Administration to attract the Democrats to the support of war meas-

ures by showing that the favors, or, in other words, that military official commissions, were distributed without regard to partisanship among the leading men of both political organizations. The letter conveyed an intimation that, when promoted to Brigadier rank, he would be recalled to the State to superintend and stimulate recruiting. It was suggested that, as a basis of the application for his appointment, I should procure the certificate of army officers as to his capacity and fitness for the duties of a higher military position. I showed him the letter, but he declined to take any of the steps that it mentioned as the means of procuring the proposed promotion. He expressed the opinion, that if the appointment was desirable for the public reasons stated, it would be procured by the State authorities at home, without any steps being taken by him or his friends in the field. Nothing further was ever heard of the proposition.

During January and February of 1863, Col. Barstow remained at Fayetteville, Arkansas, suffering constantly from ill health. The army then moved back into Missouri, to be nearer the base of supplies. After the enemy had entirely disappeared from the front, scattering bands of bush-whackers alone disturbed the peace of that country, for the repression of which this large army was not required. Col. Barstow accompanied the regiment as far north as Cassville, Missouri. From there, in February, probably, he proceeded to Kansas to inspect the detachments of his regiment in that section, hoping also to procure an order for them to join the main body in the field. This was his last service with the regiment. His health was considerably broken, and he was unable to perform field duty. He remained at Fort Leavenworth during the spring and following summer. He was then detailed on court martial duty at Department Head Quarters in St. Louis, and remained on detached duty of that character until the end of his term of service.

The regiment was never re-united. I was promoted to the Lieutenant Colonelcy by the discharge of Lt. Col. White, and remained in command of the main body of the Regiment,

which was on active field duty, till the last months of the war. The regiment rendered important and often dangerous service, and endured hardships and privations of no ordinary character. Their dead are on nearly every battle-field, and the prints of the hoofs of their horses are on every line of march occupied by the armies of the Union south of the Missouri, on both banks of the Arkansas, and to the extreme Federal outposts in the valley of the Red river. They have had no historiographer, and the war books are almost silent concerning them. Even this slight and enforced tribute to the truth of history would not have been paid at my hands, but that it was involved in my duty to the memory of Col. Barstow.

In 1864 the regiment re-enlisted in the veteran volunteer service, and on their return to the field from their veteran regimental furlough, they were detained some time in Benton Barracks, St. Louis, awaiting equipments. Col. Barstow was, during that time, an almost constant visitor of the regiment, by the members of which he was regarded with sentiments of filial regard and affection.

He never fully recovered his health, but was constantly feeble, and often prostrate, during the remainder of his term of service. He was finally mustered out, and honorably discharged, March 4th, 1865. By the assistance of influential friends, he then procured a trade permit from the Treasury Department, authorizing him to trade at any post on White or Arkansas river. I learn that the day he received this permit, he was offered twenty thousand dollars for the commercial privileges which it covered, and for the use of his name. He refused the offer, thinking it was as valuable to him as to any body, and having arrangements on foot and capable backers for large stocks of goods to be put on sale at the various points named in the permit. He visited that country to select and establish trading posts before sending the goods; and, on his return to St. Louis, was met by the information that all restrictions upon trade on the Mississippi river and its tributaries had been removed. His permit was, therefore, of no more value than so much blank paper. He soon afterward pro-

ceeded to Leavenworth, where he remained during the summer and autumn. He was, while there, again prostrated with the disease which had become chronic in his bowels, and this illness proved fatal. He died at Leavenworth on the 13th day of December, 1865, at the age of 52 years.

It is melancholy to add, that the members of his family were unable to reach him previous to his death and burial, and that he was indebted to the kind offices of strangers for the attentions which he received in his last hours, and for the rites of interment. It being fully established that he died of disease contracted in the service, an officer's pension was granted to his widow.

Nothing can be said of the value of his military services, for he was never placed in a command adequate to his rank after he went to the field; and during almost the entire time of his presence with the regiment he was a sufferer from the disease which finally terminated his life. He acquired no skill as a tactician, and did not even render himself familiar with regimental drill. Only a fragment of his regiment was at any time under his command after leaving Benton Barracks, in May, 1862, except for a short time in the vicinity of Fort Leavenworth. That he would have administered the affairs of even a larger command, with consummate ability, had it been confided to him, will be conceded by all who were familiar with his great executive capacity. Whether, in an emergency, he would have developed military ability of a high order, cannot of course be determined. The opportunity was never presented to him, even on a limited scale.

In the routine of camp duties and discipline, as might have been expected, he had no superior. That wonderful power to secure the attachment of those around him was never, on any other scene of action, so completely and usefully manifested as is was among the officers and men of his regiment. They were always devoted and obedient to duty in his presence. He composed all their troubles, small and great, reconciled questions of rank, succession and privilege, and administered discipline with wonderful tact, patience and success. His pre-

vious station in civil life, and his evident strength of character and mind, secured him universal respect among the officers of all ranks in both the regular and volunteer army, with whom he came in contact. His dignity of manner and remarkably fine personal appearance, attracted attention alike in camp, on the march, on parade, and in the military court over which he presided. While he was with the regiment, he had the best horses, and was a free and graceful rider. He was an excellent shot with both carbine and revolver, and often in trials of skill elicited marks of astonishment and delight at his accuracy of range. He possessed indomitable physical courage, and it was remarked that he was the coolest man, and the last on the retreat in the stampede when he narrowly escaped capture by the bush-whackers near Fort Scott. Old settlers spoke of the completeness of his preparations for defence, and of his watchful care for the camp at Rhea's Mills, which was in constant danger of attack while the main body of the army was in front of the enemy at Prairie Grove.

He never shunned a duty because it was a painful one. While Provost Marshal General of Kansas, he was directed by the Department commander, Gen. Blunt, to suppress the publication of a radical Democratic newspaper at Leavenworth, and he discharged the command promptly and without question. The publication of the paper was afterwards undertaken by an old Wisconsin friend of Col. Barstow's, to whom such indiscretions were imputed that the same discipline was directed to be applied against him, and the order was enforced literally, and without delay.

A more eloquent and elaborate tribute than this is due from me to William A. Barstow. During many years of arduous and embittered political warfare I was by his side, and in my profession it was frequently my duty, as it was my pleasure, to defend his character from partisan and personal assaults. I believe that he cherished for me a reciprocal regard, and our friendship was cemented in hardship, in danger, and amid scenes of blood, to which we were called by common sentiment of patriotic duty. He fills a soldier's grave, for he as truly

died in the cause of his country as if he had received a fatal wound in battle. And I shall never cease to cherish his memory, for his many manly virtues; for his intrepid spirit, which was not disturbed either in the decisive emergencies of political conflict, or in more trying vicissitudes of peril and distress; for the integrity with which he adhered to one set of principles and to one set of friends throughout his public career; and as the foremost man, living or dead, in the Democracy of the State!

Events in the Life of Charles Durkee

By Michael Frank

Among the early pioneers of Wisconsin the name of none is more deserving a place in the archives of the Historical Society, than the subject of this brief memorial sketch. It is one of the noble aims of this Society to perpetuate the memory of prominent early settlers of this portion of the great North-West. Not many years hence this will be no easy task, and generations to come will thank the Society for the timely efforts made at this period of its existence.

Charles Durkee was born in Royalton, Vermont, on the 10th of December, 1805. His ancestors were from Scotland. His father, Harvey Durkee, was a man of fine personal presence, gentlemanly bearing, and possessed of a strong mind. He was by occupation at different times, merchant, hotel keeper and sheriff of the county. The educational advantages at that period in Vermont were not so generally available as now; only a few comparatively were privileged to attend the higher institutions of learning. Charles Durkee received his first lessons in a small district school at Enosburg; he subsequently attended other district schools in that part of Vermont, and was lastly favored with a short course of instruction at Burlington Academy. Although his school days all told, were but few, yet he failed not to improve his leisure time in acquiring useful knowledge. It may be said of him, that to a large extent, he was a self-made man.

The first industrial occupation in his boyhood was farming;

he spent a number of years on a farm in Cambridge, Vermont. He early developed a character for manliness, and of fidelity in every kind of business entrusted to him. His influence over his juvenile associates was one of his marked traits, and instances are related of his remarkable self-control. One who was his companion in boyhood says: "In a difficulty I had with him, he aroused my temper to such a degree of madness, that I could for a moment have taken his life; while I was threatening him with vengeance, he remained as calm as if nothing had happened, and only laughed at my impetuous nature." The same authority continues: "I was his associate for some years during his youthful days, and in no single instance do I recollect of seeing him angry." He seemed to exemplify the character described by Solomon: "He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty, and he that ruleth his spirit, than he that taketh a city."

By the time he was of sufficient age to embark in some business enterprise for himself, he had by the practice of industry and economy, accumulated a little property. His father was not in circumstances to render him any essential pecuniary aid to start him in life. The money he had saved, he invested in goods and commenced the mercantile business in Richmond, Vt. His success was as good as could be expected in view of his limited capital. Subsequently, he removed to Barton where he pursued the same business; afterwards he went to Chelsea, and entered into a partnership with Judge Dana of that town, in the mercantile trade. He remained in business connection with that gentleman until a short time before he removed to the West. He was anxious for a wider field of operation than was offered in the old settled State of Vermont. Of the many sections of country in the great North-West, which invited immigration, he chose Wisconsin.

Mr. Durkee came to Wisconsin in May, 1836, selecting a location for his home where the city of Kenosha now stands. The place was then known by the name of Pike Creek; afterwards called Southport, and finally named Kenosha in 1850.

The country was then new and invested in all its primeval beauty; the tall grass waving in the breeze, and the profusion of wild flowers which decked the openings and prairies, presented a scene of surpassing grandeur. These early panoramic views of nature robed in her flowery vestments, disappeared years ago, never more to be seen in Wisconsin. No one who has ever beheld a western prairie in its primitive state in the season of vegetation and flowers, can ever forget the magnificence of the picture.

Before coming to Wisconsin, Mr. Durkee had been married, at Cabot, Vt., to Miss Catharine P. Dana, daughter of John W. Dana, Esq. This lady possessed more than ordinary attractions, and was widely esteemed for her many excellent qualities. The wild loveliness that surrounded her new home in the West, excited her enthusiastic admiration. Although no flower garden cultivated by human hands was attached to her dwelling, yet during the summer and autumnal months, there was spread out before her a scene of floral splendor on a grander scale than wealth and skill had ever produced in her native Vermont. She was seemingly more contented and happy in the simple cabin in which she dwelt, than if her abode had been in a palatial mansion in an eastern metropolitan city. But she was destined not long to enjoy the excitements and pleasures of her new home. She was taken sick in August, 1837, and died after a short illness. Mr. Durkee was married again in January, 1840, to Miss Caroline Lake, daughter of Jared Lake, Esq. This lady had enjoyed the advantages of a good education and other desirable privileges.

At the time Mr. Durkee became a resident of Wisconsin, the lands had not yet been put into market by the Government. He had his "claim" experiences like many other early settlers, some of which were amusingly interesting. But as the exciting period of "claim times" in our Wisconsin history has been the subject of so many papers, it is needless to dwell upon these matters. His first residence was a small claim

house, standing near the centre of the present city park of Kenosha; his claim covered a considerable portion of the lands in the southern part of the town within the now corporate limits, the title to which he secured from the Government as soon as the lands were offered for sale.

The rapid advance of the town during the first year of its settlement was largely attributable to the enterprise and public spirit of Mr. Durkee. Having become a considerable real estate owner, when the town was surveyed into lots, he gave grounds for a fine public park, which is regarded as one of the most beautiful in the State. He also donated suitable grounds for a cemetery. He caused a considerable tract of land, not far from the business part of the town, to be surveyed into lots larger than the ordinary size, for the accommodation of mechanics and laboring men. These lots were sold at moderate prices, and on long credit; when the purchaser was unable to pay money, labor was taken in payment. He was proverbially known as the friend of the laboring man. The first brick erected in the town for business purposes was built by him. In the year 1843 he erected the hotel known as the "Durkee House," which at the time of its completion was the largest and most elegant hotel in Wisconsin.*

The early settlers of Kenosha (then Southport) were impressed with the importance of obtaining from Congress an appropriation for the opening of a harbor at that place. They believed the future growth and commercial importance of the town largely depended on its possessing harbor facilities. Mr. Durkee was accordingly selected by the citizens as a suitable person to proceed to Washington, and represent to members of Congress the necessity of a harbor for the benefit of lake commerce at that point. He was sent on this mission in different years, and succeeded in procuring harbor surveys to be made by the proper officers of the Government, and subsequently having the efficient co-operation of Gen. Henry Dodge, the Territorial delegate from Wisconsin, an appropriation was obtained for the construction of a harbor.

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* The Durkee House was destroyed by fire on the night of the 31st of January, 1871. Six persons lost their lives in the conflagration.

Mr. Durkee took a deep interest in the national issues of the day, from the time he first became a resident of Wisconsin, and was also ready to express his conviction of right on all questions of local or political importance. While he was proverbially courteous to those who differed with him politically, never giving occasion for offence, he was nevertheless firm in his adherence to what he believed to be for the true interest of the people.

The Territory of Wisconsin, as originally organized by act of Congress, embraced within its limits what now comprises the State of Iowa. This extensive area was at the time of its organization as a Territory divided into six counties, viz.: Brown, Iowa, Crawford and Milwaukee, within the now limits of Wisconsin; Dubuque and Des Moines, within the present limits of the State of Iowa. The first session of the Legislature of this new Territory was held at Belmont, a small town east of the Mississippi river, commencing on the 25th of October, 1836. Mr. Durkee was elected to the House of Representatives in this legislative body from the county of Milwaukee, in November of that year. The second session of the Territorial Legislature, of which Mr. Durkee was also a member, convened at Burlington on the west side of the Mississippi. During this period, and for several years after, the Territorial elections were conducted mostly on local issues; national politics entering only to a limited extent into the annual contests at the polls.

When the first measures were taken in Wisconsin for the organization of an anti-slavery party, for the avowed object of arresting the further progress of slavery into new territory, Mr. Durkee entered earnestly into the movement. He was among the originators of the "Liberty Party" in the State, and a zealous supporter of its measures; contributing liberal sums of money for the purchase and distribution of anti-slavery documents, for the employment of lecturers, and for the support of a press to represent the interests of the party. Being regarded as one of its popular leaders, he was every year

nominated a candidate of the party for some important office. Notwithstanding the Liberty party was for a long time in a minority, without expectation of electing its candidates, yet Mr. Durkee consented to stand the prospective defeats at the polls, religiously believing it to be his duty to represent a principle, which was destined ultimately to succeed.

In November, 1849, he was elected a member of Congress from the First Congressional District; being the first representative in Congress elected as a distinctive anti-slavery man from the North-West. In November, 1851, he was elected for a second term—making his service in the House of Representatives four years.

In the years 1849 and 1850 the subject of a World's Peace Convention was much discussed in many portions of the country. Elihu Burritt, then widely known as an advocate for the avoidance of the calamities of war, by referring all national controversies to the arbitrament of a congress of nations, visited Wisconsin, and by his public addresses created considerable interest on this subject in several localities. The idea of universal peace through the intervention of a tribunal of nations, very naturally commended itself to Mr. Durkee. "Peace on earth and good will to men" was one of his favorite themes. A Peace Society was organized about this time in Kenosha county, and at a meeting called for the purpose of considering the propriety of sending a delegate to the proposed Peace Convention to be held in the city of Paris, Mr. Durkee was unanimously chosen. He accordingly proceeded to Paris, and was present in the Convention as a delegate. After the adjournment of that body, he visited several countries and cities of Europe before returning home.

At the close of his second term in Congress, he purchased a farm in the town of Windsor, Dane county, Wisconsin, and entered upon the business of farming. Lands were then still cheap in that vicinity; he subsequently purchased several adjoining tracts of land, until his farm embraced about fifteen hundred acres. His real estate investments in the town of

Windsor were fortunate; lands soon after greatly increased in value. After occupying his farm between two and three years, he sold it at a large advance over the original cost.

At the session of the Wisconsin Legislature in February, 1855, Mr. Durkee was elected to the United States Senate for the full term of six years—making his total term of service in the National Legislature ten years. During his entire Congressional career, both in the Senate and in the House of Representatives, he was known as an outspoken and positive anti-slavery man. Upon his first election to Congress, there were not more than six or seven members who fully sympathized with him in his extreme views. Giddings, Hale and Wilmot were of the number—the latter being the author of the famous "Wilmot Proviso." It required a considerable amount of daring at that period, to stand up in the Capitol of the Nation an avowed Abolitionist. Probably no member of Congress known to be so determinedly opposed to slavery, and so sanguine of its ultimate overthrow, ever encountered so little personal hostility. He improved every proper opportunity to converse with slave-holding members of Congress and Southern advocates and apologists for slavery, on the wrong of chattelizing men and women. Yet so affable was his manner and so marked with good nature and kindness of conversation, in no case was he ever known to incur the displeasure of any slaveholder or defender of the institution. Instead of rendering himself obnoxious, he was quite a favorite with Southern members; they seemed to invite conversation, and seemed pleased with the earnest simplicity of his argument, doubtless believing him sincere, but a mistaken and visionary enthusiast. He, however, lived to see slavery abolished; an event reached, no doubt, a quarter of a century earlier than he had anticipated during his early anti-slavery labors.

While a member of Congress, he devoted his attention more especially to such measures as were calculated to benefit and ameliorate the condition of the laboring classes. He labored assiduously for the enactment of liberal homestead laws, and

for the disposal of the public lands, as far as practical, to actual settlers. The committees on which he was usually assigned place in Congress, were of the class embracing the above or kindred interests. He did not often engage in the public debates in Congress, and made but few speeches of any considerable length. The *Congressional Globe*, however, furnishes some creditable speeches of his, delivered in the House of Representativs. During his years in Congress, he studied the purposes of Southern leaders thoroughly, and fully comprehended their designs. He saw the coming storm on the political horizon, and uttered his deliberate convictions of an uprising near at hand to dissever the Union. Just before the inauguration of President Lincoln, he addressed a letter to his brother in the State of New York, in which he gave expression to the following language: "I have been conversant with the Southern mind for twelve years, and though I have been uncompromisingly anti-slavery and outspoken in all my views, yet all this time I have never had an unpleasant discussion with a Southern Senator, or Member of the House; yet so fully do I understand the designs of Southern men, I clearly see a dark cloud is fast gathering over our beloved country; this beautiful land of ours is about to pass through such a terrible, such a scorching and devastating ordeal, as history has no where furnished a parallel." Turning from this prospective view of war and blood-shed, he gave place to his peaceful aspirations as follows: "What a beautiful and happy world would this be, if we only all loved one another, and studied each other's happiness and welfare as earnestly as we do our own."

The religious, educational and benevolent characteristics of Mr. Durkee must be briefly noticed. He was religiously inclined from early life. During a period of special religious interest at Barton, Vt., in the year 1832, he made a public profession of religion and united with the Methodist Episcopal Church of that town. He continued a regular attendant on the church of that denomination during his residence in that

State; when he came to Wisconsin he embraced the first opportunity to connect himself with a church of the same order, and rendered efficient aid in after years in sustaining its interests. In the year 1850, he became much interested in the writings of Emanuel Swedenborg, and inclined to favor the theological views of that distinguished man.* He, however, continued his usual contributions to the Methodist Church notwithstanding his modified change of religious belief. While an effort was being made for the establishment of a University at Appleton, Wis., under the auspices of the Methodist denomination, he made a liberal subscription in favor of that religious enterprise. He was not a sectarian, but tolerant towards all denominations, especially in his vicinity, whenever solicited for that purpose.

The friends of education found in Mr. Durkee an earnest supporter. The subject of free schools began to be agitated in Wisconsin several years before the adoption of the State Constitution. The system of free education, when first proposed in the Territory, encountered much opposition in some localities. The friends of the cause were strongly aided by Mr. Durkee, in procuring the passage of a special act from the Territorial Legislature, authorizing the establishment of a Free School in Southport, since Kenosha. This was the first free school put in operation in Wisconsin. His interest in this school did not abate in after years; while a member of Congress, he contributed at various times valuable books to the School Library,† and in his last will he bequeathed the sum of five thousand dollars for the purchase of a telescope for the use of the High School at Kenosha.

Mr. Durkee was proverbial for his liberal charities to the poor. During the great famine which prevailed in Ireland in 1856, he became especially enlisted in behalf of the suffering

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* The Chicago *Philosophical Journal*, an exponent of spiritualism, whose editor was long acquainted with Governor Durkee, said in its issue of January 22, 1870: "Mr. Durkee was a believer in our philosophy, and a good man: and his many years of public life have been marked with strict integrity." L. C. D.

† Mr. Durkee, as early as 1855, presented to our Historical Society a valuable collection of some 1,200 pamphlets, and during the whole of his Senatorial term he constantly bore our Library in remembrance in his distribution of public documents. During the years 1862 and 1863, he was one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society. L. C. D.

people of that country. He called a public meeting, and urged the claims of humanity on his fellow-citizens; he besought them to give of their abundance for the starving poor. He headed a subscription with a liberal sum for that benevolent object.

After the expiration of his last term in Congress, he erected a splendid residence on the shores of Lake Michigan, just outside the corporation limits of Kenosha. The lot on which the edifice was built comprised ten acres; a considerable portion of which he caused to be tastefully laid out with walks and drives and adorned the grounds, at much expense, with choice shade trees and shrubbery. After enjoying this delightful home a few years, his health became impaired, and his physicians advised him to seek a change of climate. With his general regard for the cause of education, he conveyed this property to the trustees of an association organized for the purpose of establishing a school for young ladies; the trustees agreeing to pay him a yearly annuity equivalent to a moderate rental of the property during his own and his wife's lifetime, after which the title, without further consideration, to invest in the association.

Mr. Durkee had for some time regarded a drier atmosphere than that found on the lake shore, as essential to his failing health, and had often expressed a desire to try the western slope of the Rocky Mountains or the Pacific coast, for that purpose. On the death of Gov. Doty, of Utah Territory, in 1865, President Andrew Johnson was informed that Mr. Durkee would be pleased with an appointment to fill the vacancy. Mr. Durkee had years previous been intimately acquainted with Mr. Johnson in Congress and the most friendly relations had existed between them. Mr. Durkee was, without hesitancy, appointed by the President to the office of Governor of Utah. He proceeded at once to Salt Lake City, and entered upon the duties of the position. There existed a wide difference of opinion among prominent men of our country, as to the true policy to be pursued towards the Mormons. Mr.

Durkee adopted a conciliatory course; his administration was a peaceful one—provoking no hostile collisions with that people. In his first message to the Territorial Legislature of Utah, he recommended the establishment of a system of free schools, and other liberal enactments, which had been favorite measures with him in former years.

During the period of his sojourn west of the Rocky Mountains, he visited the principal cities of California, and also explored the mining districts of Nevada. He obtained an interest in a coal, also a silver mine, but was obliged to relinquish his intended mining operations on account of the precarious condition of his health.

For more than a year after Mr. Durkee entered upon the duties of his office at Salt Lake City, the change of climate seemed to produce a favorable influence on his health; but his old complaint, a chronic rheumatism, gradually returned, so that the relief he had hoped to realize was not of long duration. In the latter part of the year 1869, his declining strength was so apparent, he was advised to return to his old home and friends in Kenosha, with the hope that a retiracy from the duties of active life, and that quietude might prove beneficial. Preparations were accordingly made for his return to Wisconsin. Two days before he left on his journey eastward, being desirous to see a friend residing twelve miles out of town, he concluded to make him a call. It was late in the afternoon on the last day of December, when he started out in a buggy for this purpose; the night came on, dark and cold, and he lost his way. He made no discovery of any friendly shelter, and was obliged to spend the night on the open prairie. The next morning he found his way back to Salt Lake City, considerably frost-bitten. Nothing very serious, however, was apprehended from this night of severe exposure.

On the second of January he took his departure from Salt Lake City for Wisconsin, accompanied by his wife and F. H. Head, Esq., late Indian Agent for Utah Territory. On the first day of his journey, the cold he had taken in his night of

exposure on the prairie was fearfully developed. His situation seemed to demand medical attention, and a telegram was sent to a physician at Omaha to meet him at the depot. The physician on examination of the case, recommended a day or two of rest at Omaha, after which he thought the Governor would be able to pursue his journey. The day after his arrival at Omaha, pneumonia was developed, and on the succeeding day he became so much worse, that his brother, Harvey Durkee, of Kenosha, was telegraphed to come immediately. His brother reached Omaha on the 10th. The condition of the Governor continued to grow more and more serious, leaving no hope of recovery. In his more lucid moments he expressed an earnest desire to see once more the shores of Lake Michigan, and meet his old friends and acquaintances, where he had spent so many happy years of his life. To die among his old neighbors was his frequently expressed wish.

The day before his death, on two or three occasions, he believed himself dying; he bade good-bye to those around him, saying "give my love to everybody." At another time he said, "I have been happy in this world, and am now happy in leaving it." Shortly before he breathed his last, and when he was thought past speaking, he surprised those at his bedside by attempting to sing the following lines:

"She's the star I missed from heaven,
Long time ago."

This was understood to refer to the wife of his first love; it was his death song—his last words. He died on Friday, the 14th of January, 1870, aged sixty-four years, one month and five days. His remains were brought to Kenosha, and interred by the side of his first wife, in the beautiful cemetery which he had donated as a public burying ground more than thirty years before, and in which, in his last will, he had expressed a desire to be buried.

Before leaving Utah, Mr. Durkee seemed to be fully impressed, that he was nearing the termination of his earthly ex-

istence. Among the last letters he is known to have written to his friends East, was one addressed to an old acquaintance in Washington City, in which he described in glowing words the old friends long since departed this life, whom he anticipated soon meeting in the heavenly world. In the same letter he also expressed a desire to contribute fifty dollars towards the monument which it had been proposed to erect by subscription to the memory of the late Senator Fessenden of Maine. Mr. Durkee and Mr. Fessenden had been warm personal friends for many years.

The life of Mr. Durkee was one abounding in good deeds and intentions; to benefit humanity was the earnest aim of his life. That he was faultless, no faithful historian will pretend to affirm. The surroundings of those occupying high positions in political life abound with temptations. Many of the most strong-minded men of our country have verified this truth. But in whatever direction Mr. Durkee may have erred, it cannot be said that his reputation was ever sullied by acts of dishonesty; his integrity in public, as well as in private life, was irreproachable. While a member of Congress, no on who knew him ever ventured to approach him with a promise of reward for his advocacy or his vote for any particular measure. No pecuniary consideration—no flattery, could induce him to swerve from his honest conviction of right. Well will it be for the future of the country, if those to whom high trusts are committed by the people, are as faithful and conscientious in rendering an honest account of their stewardship, as was the late Hon. Charles Durkee.

The Life and Services of George Hyer

By Lyman C. Draper

Viewed either as an early adventurous pioneer to the wilds of the North-West, or as one of the earliest and most prominent of the printers and publishers of our Territory and State, or as one of its primitive lawgivers who largely aided in moulding public opinion, or as a prolific and faithful chronicler of the interesting episodes and thrilling incidents of the early days of Wisconsin, George Hyer well deserves more than a passing notice at our hands.

For the purpose of preserving for permanent reference, we group together the principal events of Mr. Hyer's career. He was born at Fort Covington, Franklin county, New York, July 16, 1819. He was the eldest of seven children of Frederick and Eliza Hyer, who located in that region about the close of the War of 1812. His education was such as the common schools of his region afforded; and, in 1833, he commenced his apprenticeship in the printing office of the *St. Lawrence Gazette,* at Ogdensburg, N. Y., then conducted by Samuel Hoard, since widely known at one period as the Post Master at Chicago; and afterwards under the control of the late Preston King, subsequently a distinguished member of the United States Senate. From such men as Silas Wright and Preston King he naturally imbibed those political principles of which they were such distinguished exponents at that day.

Early in 1836, his attention was directed to the Wisconsin country, to engage with a relative in surveying Government

lands—which, however, he probably regarded only as a dernier resort, in case his chosen profession of printing should fail him. He landed at Milwaukee on the 4th of July, in that year, and found the principal topic of conversation to be the birthday of the Territory of Wisconsin, that being the day on which it assumed Territorial existence. In the then small, unpromising village of Milwaukee, no newspaper had yet been established. On the 14th of July, the first number of the Milwaukee *Advertiser* made its appearance, which soon became the leading paper of the Territory, from its being ably conducted and regularly issued.

On Mr. Hyer's return from surveying expeditions, he found himself frequently at the case, in the *Advertiser* office, setting type, and not infrequently a contributor to its columns, and, on the approach of cold weather, and the departure of some of the tramping "jours," he became a regular employee in the office, where he remained for several months—thus commencing his connection with the Wisconsin press, which continued, with only a few breathing spells for the recovery of health and strength, for over thirty-five years.

In one of his interesting letters to the Editorial Association, Mr. Hyer mentions a little episode of frontier life in Wisconsin, in 1836, worthy of preservation in this connection. Having occasion to visit Green Bay, he left Milwaukee in August, of that year, in company with two others, and plunged into the wilderness, from which they did not emerge until they reached the open country in what is now the northern part of Waukesha county. In due time they reached the traveling post on Rock river, now known as Hustisford, in Dodge county. Here they found quite a collection of Indians, and much ill-feeling existing in consequence of the arrest of some Indians charged with the murder of a white man near Watertown.*

* To what particular murder this refers, we do not know; if the date is correct, it was not that of Burnett, for that did not occur till the following November. The eastern papers mentioned Indian depredations along Rock river during the winter of 1835-36; but the *Green Bay Intelligencer* of May, 1836, says those reports grew out of the fact of persons found dead who had really perished from cold. Maj. John Greene, commanding at Fort Winnebago, wrote June 30th, 1836, that there was no cause for alarm from the Indians; and it was announced in the Detroit papers, July 14th, on authority of Gen. Hugh Brady, who had just returned from a military inspection in the Wisconsin country, that there was not the slightest foundation for the reports of hostile intentions on the part of the Menomonees and Winnebagoes. Yet some isolated murder may have occurred be-

So exasperated were the Indians, that Hyer and his companions, considering it unsafe to pursue their journey, enlisted for the protection of the post, until the war cloud should pass over. After parleying for three or four days, "peace was declared," and our travelers journeyed on, striking the military road at Fond du Lac, and passing down through the Indian reservation in the present Calumet county, reached Grignon's trading house at Kaukauna, whence they were taken by Indians in canoes to Green Bay.

"When I first came to Wisconsin," said Mr. Hyer, "young and venturous, it was my delight to wander over the wide prairies, and among the forests, unattended, unless by the wild people in whose lodges I found safe shelter. By these people I was taught how to guide my course through the wilderness—at night by the stars; and by day, the moss on the trees, and the prairie plants, when the sun-light was hidden, gave the points of compass with sufficient accuracy to guide my course aright; later, when the white man came to take possession of the land, the marked trail, the trees blazed by the new-comer and rubbed by the mail-bags as they passed through the narrow lines of travel from one distant settlement to another, furnished the landmarks that directed the course of travel." He loved to revert to those days of yore—the pioneer times of Wisconsin.

Returning from Green Bay, and dividing his time between such rambles through the new Territory, on surveying expeditions, and working in the *Advertiser* office at Milwaukee, he passed away the remainder of 1836, and the early part of the following year.

Mr. Hyer relates, that in the spring of 1837, having occasion to visit the Rock river settlement, he was sworn by Post Master Solomon Juneau at Milwaukee, to carry the mail to

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tween the 1st of July and the period to which Mr. Hyer refers. On the whole, however, we incline to the opinion that Mr. Hyer made a mistake as to the time of this trip to Green Bay—that it was a year later, when the Indians engaged in the murder of Burnett, and wounding of Clyman, were imprisoned at Milwaukee for the act. Had a murder occurred near Watertown in the summer of 1836, when Timothy Johnson was located at Johnson's Rapids, since Watertown, Mr. Johnson would very naturally have related so notable an event to Mr. E. B. Quiner, when the latter consulted him for data for his sketch of Watertown in 1856. Mr. Quiner is silent, as are the newspapers and all other authorities extant of that day.

that point—the good Post Master remarking at the time, that it was the first mail ever dispatched west of Milwaukee, for there were then no interior settlements to require mail facilities. The mail matter committed to Mr. Hyer's care, and which he was sworn to support and protect, consisted of a few letters and papers, enclosed in a stage way-bill envelope. Depositing it in his overcoat pocket, he mounted his pony, and was soon out of sight, winding his way along a devious and not very plain path, through the "Milwaukee Woods," to the Indian village where Waukesha is now situated, where he spent the first night. Thence he followed a trail through Mukwonago, on to where Whitewater now is, and where Dr. Tripp had just built a small log house, with whom he spent his second night. Resuming his journey on the third day, he aimed for a crossing on Bark river, which in some way he missed, and after hours of wandering, late at night, was glad to take shelter and lodging at an Indian camp in the woods; and the next day he reached the shanties of the Rock River Claim Company,* and delivered the first mail ever carried from Milwaukee west.

It may be interesting to mention, in this connection, another incident of Mr. Hyer's early pioneer experiences in Wisconsin. Wishing to go north, he started from Milwaukee, in company with a Col. Thayer, on the trail of the Green Bay mail route, after a heavy storm, their only guide an occasional "blazed" tree and the marks of the mail-bags as they had brushed the bark from the trees and saplings. Getting off the track, in some way, they wandered about for a long time, at last striking the Milwaukee river in the vicinity of what is now Saukville, where they found themselves without means of crossing the stream, and, cold and hungry, they lay down on the river bank waiting for the river to freeze over, which it fortunately did that night, enabling them the next morning to cross on the ice in safety, and pursue their journey.

The winter of 1837–38 Mr. Hyer spent in the employ of

* The Rock River Claim Company was composed of Solomon Juneau, Alvin Foster, Dwight Foster, Enoch Darling, and some others; and the early Post Office was located at the present village of Fort Atkinson, and was kept by Dwight Foster. A four-legged stand, yet in use, served for the first Post Office of the colony. This note is given on the authority of H. E. Southwell, of Fort Atkinson. L. C. D.

John Wentworth, on the *Democrat* at Chicago. He returned to Wisconsin in the spring of 1838, preparatory to leaving for the Rocky Mountains, having engaged with a fur-trading house in St. Louis to go out on a three years' expedition. This wild notion grew out of his reading Irving's *Astoria,* replete with exciting narratives of Rocky Mountain life and adventure, and came near changing the whole current of his career; and would, probably, had he not met at Madison, the then Territorial capital, Josiah A. Noonan, and engaged with him on the *Wisconsin Enquirer,* which he was about to establish there to do the Territorial printing. This was early in the summer.

Mr. Noonan had ordered a press and materials from Buffalo, to come by way of the Lakes to Green Bay, and thence up Fox river on barges to Fort Winnebago, whence it was to have been carted overland to Madison. The bill of shipment came in due time, but weeks passed, and nothing was heard of the material. The season was getting late, and no press. Finally Mr. Noonan engaged Mr. Hyer to mount a pony, and go to Fort Winnebago, forty miles distant, and make inquiry about the missing material, and if nothing was heard of it, to continue on to Green Bay. There were then no roads, no guides, no regular stopping places; by the route taken there was no clearly defined track between Madison and Fort Winnebago, and but one stopping place, a half breed's house, within ten or twelve miles of the Fort. But from Fort Winnebago to Green Bay there was a good military road, running east of Lake Winnebago, affording a good route, and convenient stopping places among traders and Indians. On reaching Fort Winnebago, Mr. Hyer gained information that convinced him that the press and materials had been thrown overboard, in a storm, in Lake Huron, off Mackinaw; but it was months after the unfortunate event before its fate was fully known.

Satisfied that it would be useless to look further for the missing printing material, Mr. Hyer started back the next morning for Madison, reaching there that night, and gave such in-

formation of the matter as he had been able to learn. This led Mr. Noonan to purchase the Racine *Argus,* and transfer the material to Madison, followed immediately by the publication of the *Wisconsin Enquirer,* the first number of which appeared on the 8th of November, 1838, and on which Mr. Hyer set the first type. With a single hand press, and scarcely any conveniences, this little office issued a newspaper, the bills, journals, reports, and laws of the legislature, including a revision of the laws then in force.

Mr. Hyer remained with the *Enquirer* several years; and in April, 1841, became a partner of C. C. Sholes in conducting the paper, but retired from it in February, 1842; when he went to Milwaukee, and united with Mr. Noonan in the publication of the Milwaukee *Courier;* from which, however, he retired in February, 1843, and joined John P. Sheldon in the publication of the *Wisconsin Democrat,* at Madison, both of whom were chosen Territorial printers for that year. The *Democrat,* when it ceased to have the public printing, was short lived, and suspended in March, 1844.

Mr. Hyer had early secured himself a homestead of a quarter section of land, on Rock river, near Aztalan; and from that as his home and headquarters, he would sally out at times to engage in his profession. He was confessedly somewhat variable in his pursuits—not really robust enough to grapple with the severe labor consequent upon the successful opening and management of a new farm, nor yet vigorous enough to devote himself laboriously and continuously to editorial and newspaper life. In October, 1847, we find him, in connection with a partner, starting a new paper, the *Rock River Pilot,* at Watertown, from which, however, he retired in January thereafter. He was subsequently connected with the *Rock River Times,* at the same place—a paper that was published only a few months. About this period he was united in marriage to Miss Catharine Keyes, daughter of Capt. Joseph Keyes, of Lake Mills, one of the pioneers of Rock river valley, and sister of Hon. E. W. Keyes, of Madison.

We next find Mr. Hyer removed to Waukesha, where, on the 20th of July, 1848, he issued the first number of the Waukesha *Democrat*, which he continued to conduct for a little over three years. In the fall of 1850, he was elected to represent Waukesha county in the State Senate, and served with credit to himself and usefulness to his district during the session of 1851. On the 19th of August, in that year, he made his valedictory in his paper, and the *Democrat* passed into the hands of Edward H. Baxter and Henry D. Barron. His first intention was to have started a new paper at Oshkosh, but this idea was abandoned; and in December, 1851, we find him removed to Milwaukee, resigning the unexpired term of his senatorship, and entering into partnership with Daniel Shaw, in conducting the *Commercial Advertiser*, and thus continued till in 1854, when they retired, and the *Advertiser* was changed into the *News*.

Retiring again to his farm-home, he remained there till July, 1855, when he was appointed by President Buchanan Register of the Land Office at Superior, at the same time that Hon. E. B. Dean, Jr., was appointed Receiver at that place. In the fall of 1856, Mr. Hyer resigned his position, and again withdrew to his quiet home on Rock river.

Except some occasional services rendered to S. D. Carpenter, in the Madison *Patriot*, Mr. Hyer was not again connected with newspaper life till April, 1859, when he became associated with Mr. Carpenter in the *Patriot*. In the fall of 1862 he was chosen to represent the Madison district in the Legislature at the ensuing session of 1863. About this time he was called to part with his wife, who had long been an invalid sufferer. In the spring of 1864, in consequence of failing health, he was induced to quit his favorite profession for a time, and retire from the *Patriot;* and he sought a change of life and relief from the exacting cares of a daily paper, by taking an overland journey to the Pacific—thus gratifying the ideal he had long before formed of Rocky Mountain life and adventure from the perusal of Irving's graphic

description of that rugged Alpine region. He said to the writer that he felt that such a trip would test his vitality—that he would either fall by the way or return greatly recuperated. His hopes were reasonably realized; for he visited Oregon, California and Nevada, communicating to the press here a series of articles, which attracted much attention, descriptive of the scenes he witnessed, the country through which he passed, and the motley people whom he met on his devious way. He returned home by the Isthmus route in the spring of 1865, much improved in health and strength.

Early in October following, Mr. Hyer, in connection with D. W. Fernandez, established the *Democrat* at Madison, which he continued to publish until February, 1867, when, feeling that his health was not sufficiently vigorous to enable him to conduct a daily paper, he sold out to I. V. Montanye, and concluded to retire from active life forever, and spend the remainder of his days in the quietude of the country. He purchased a beautiful farm, just over the Illinois border, not very far from Beloit, and took up his abode there, accompanied by his wife *née* R. H. Fernandez, to whom he had been recently married. His principal articles of farm production in 1867, as he pleasantly remarked, were chickens and potato bugs.

His active mind soon again became restless in retirement, and an almost irresistible desire again possessed him to resume the editorial chair. His preferences were to have returned to Madison; but a better opening at the time presented itself at Oshkosh, where, in connection with his brother-in-law, Mr. Fernandez, he purchased the Oshkosh *Democrat,* in October, 1867; and changing the name to the Oshkosh *Times,* soon imparted to it the vitalizing touch and magnetic influence of his veteran hand and experience. It soon took the very front rank among the weeklies of the State. Thus for five and a half years, he kept his busy pen employed on the *Times,* earnestly engaged in advocating many a good work for the public. He was supported by his friends for the Assembly in the Oshkosh district in 1868, but without success.

During the winter of 1871–72 he had several severe attacks, and about the first of March he was prostrated by his old disease—consumption of the bowels, and became much enfeebled. Though confined to his home, he still wrote for his paper almost to the last. Until a few hours before his death, his friends entertained but little doubts of his recovery. It was hoped that the return of bright spring weather would bring healing on its wings; but he lived to see only one or two bright sunshiny days, and to enjoy a few glimpses of returning life and animation in the fields and gardens he loved so well. Only the day before his death, he said to his companion that he felt that he should recover and enjoy better health than he had for many years. But these hopes were delusive. That very evening unfavorable symptoms appeared, and his friends at once realized his great danger. His sufferings were intense until a short time before his departure, but he bore them without a murmur. He continued to fail rapidly through the night, and until a quarter past nine the following morning, April 20, 1872, when, without a struggle, he peacefully passed away—his mind remaining clear and bright to the last. Death came, but with it came neither timidity nor terror. Conscious of approaching dissolution, he met it with fortitude and without a fear. He left, besides his widow, an only child, a son by his former marriage, Capt. Joseph Keyes Hyer, a promising young officer in the regular army, who received a military education at West Point.

His funeral was largely attended at Oshkosh by his Masonic brethren and friends, and by members of the Turners, St. Andrews Society, and the Knights of Pythias, to which he respectively belonged; and delegations accompanied his remains to Madison, where they were deposited in Forest Hill Cemetery, under the direction of his Masonic friends, with brief but touching services. The green sod never pressed a nobler form.

To the State Editorial Association and the State Historical Society, Mr. Hyer cherished fond attachments. He had served as President of the Editorial Association, and contributed largely to its historical reminiscences and collections. He had

taken an active part in the first incipient effort, in October, 1846, to establish a Historical Society in the Territory. He had served seven years as a member of the Executive Committee of the present organization of the Historical Society, during his residence at Madison; and since his removal to Oshkosh, he had served two years as one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, and was, at its last annual meeting, re-chosen to the same position for the ensuing term of three years. He had prepared for the Society a series of most interesting reminiscences of early events and incidents in Wisconsin history, which will hereafter appear in the Society's *Collections*.

Let Mr. Hyer's editorial brethren, who knew him long and well, testify to his good deserving, and the leading traits of his character:

"A resident of the State of Wisconsin for thirty-six years," says his partner in the Oshkosh *Times*, "he watched with keen interest the prosperity and growth of his adopted State—laboring zealously for whatever, in his judgment, tended to promote her wealth and greatness, and lived to see her assume high rank among her sister States. Mr. Hyer loved his profession, and was proud of the influence and importance it had obtained. Connected with the press of Wisconsin from its earliest infancy, he gave it the energy and activity of early manhood, and the wisdom and experience of riper years. Thoroughly imbued with the idea of its usefulness and efficiency as a public educator, he worked hard to give it a respectability and dignity commensurate with its influence and power.

"Mr. Hyer was a man of more than ordinary ability. He possessed a mind of great power and activity, stored with a large fund of information, gained and treasured by long years of study and experience, ready to respond to any demand he might make upon it. He was a ready, rapid writer, and wielded a pen with a strength and vigor that told powerfully in favor of the cause he advocated. Sincere in his own convictions, he hated and despised duplicity and double-dealing in others. What he believed to be the truth, he did not hesitate to avow and advocate, and could not be driven nor frightened from a position he believed rightfully taken.

"George Hyer loved his friends. There are few men who had a higher appreciation of, or set a greater value upon the friendship of those whom he trusted, honored and loved, than he. During a long and stormy political life, he doubtless made enemies, but he was a generous foe, carrying on warfare only and fighting bravely for what he believed to be the truth and the right. In his family he was always most kind and affectionate, and those with whom he was thus daily associated, will not soon forget his pleasant smile, cheerful temper, affable manners, and patient forbearance, so characteristic of him in sickness and in health."

"A man of good natural endowments," writes Gen. Thos. S. Allen in the *Northwestern*, "wonderful industry and application, shrewd and far-seeing judgment, in his chosen profession Mr. Hyer reached a degree of success which is rarely attained by the most fortunate, and he lived to enjoy many years of acknowledged supremacy in the field of journalism. For thirty-five years a resident of Wisconsin, few men were better known, and few men knew more of the State and its people than George Hyer. At home and in the social circle, he was kind and affectionate to a fault; and to those who enjoyed his intimate friendship, the announcement of his death will fall with a sadness which none but those who have been similarly afflicted can appreciate. He was active and self-sacrificing in all that pertained to the public good; and, since his residence in Oshkosh, he has been instrumental in securing many valuable public improvements which will exist a monument of his worth long after his name is forgotten. In his profession he was industrious, and it is probable that his severe application to the details of his business during the last two years hastened his decease."

"Whatever," says John P. Hume, in the Chilton *Times*, "he appeared to others, makes no difference. To us he always appeared as a father, friend, counsellor, as well as the embodiment of all that was good and true—an honor and an ornament to the profession in which he took so much pride, and a man whose actions in life are worthy of imitation."

"As an editor," observes Col. Charles D. Robinson, in the Green Bay *Advocate*, "he was a man of more than usual ability,

industry, energy and perseverance. Decided in his own opinions, he was somewhat apt to be severe on others, but in the main liberal toward his opponents. In politics he has always been ultra democratic. Socially, he was most genial, fond of and faithful to his friends, and his death will cause an universal sadness wherever he was known throughout the State."

"His whole career in Wisconsin," writes Col. E. A. Calkins, in the Milwaukee *News,* "has been one of active usefulness, largely devoted to the public service. Few have worked in his profession more conscientiously, faithfully, and with sincere purposes for the public weal, and few with greater ability or more success in their labors. In all duties, and at all times, Mr. Hyer was earnest, zealous and faithful. He has done a good work, and has left us with a record unspotted, leaving with all a feeling of sorrow and regret."

"Among all those who have witnessed the remarkable growth and prosperity of our noble State," says A. B. Braley, Esq., in the Madison *Democrat,* "no man ever labored more zealously with voice and with pen, to promote the interests and develop the resources of Wisconsin, than Geo. Hyer. He has always been foremost in the advocacy of works of public improvement, and enterprises which had for their object the advancement of the best interests of the State. The greater portion of his time since he emigrated to Wisconsin has been devoted to the calling in which he was educated, that of printer and editor. He had the highest possible appreciation of the responsibilities of his noble vocation. He possessed talents of a high order. His practical mind was disciplined by reflection, and trained in the school of experience and observation. He wrote with great facility, was clear in his style of expression, most always logical, never aimed at brilliancy or tried to be ornate, but was not infrequently sparkling and witty.

"Few men ever led a more thoroughly blameless life than Geo. Hyer. His exemplary habits, his integrity of character, generosity of heart, and pleasant social ways, have won for him a respect and admiration wherever he was familiarly known, and his cherished name will be fondly remembered in many a now mourning circle, until this generation passes away.

"Although he was a man of fixed principles and positive opinions, which he always avowed with great freedom and independence when occasion required, yet we believe he had fewer personal enemies than any man we ever knew, who had filled so conspicuous a place in the world. As a proof of the almost immaculate purity of his character, we need only cite the rather extraordinary fact, that in his long career as an editor engaged as he has been in political contests in which the utmost bitterness prevailed, to which he perhaps contributed his full share of invective, we never heard of anything mean, dishonest or disreputable laid to his charge. We doubt if there is a single other man in the State who could boast of a larger circle of personal friends than he.

"There was an unpretending grandeur about the man that not only commanded respect, among all who knew him casually, but that inevitably awakened a deeper feeling in the hearts of those who were fortunate enough to possess his friendship.

"In the ranks of his beloved profession he had few equals and hardly any superiors. There were, perhaps, more brilliant writers than he, but it would be difficult to find one whose editorial career exhibited a greater combination of solid qualities. He was a great worker during his whole life. His devotion to what he believed to be the right was unswerving. Difficulties and opposition however formidable, could not shake his convictions or cause him to deviate one hair's breadth from the strict line of duty.

"As a politician few men in the State wielded a wider and more commanding influence in the party to which he belonged, than Mr. Hyer. His long experience, abundant common sense, cool judgment, and thorough familiarity with public matters, made him a safe leader, and his counsels were always listened to with deep respect by his associates. In all the relations of private life, his character never suffered the least reproach. He was an affectionate husband, an indulgnt father, and a true friend. Clouds and darkness sometimes encompassed his soul, the results of that fell disease, which has at last triumphed over life, but he generally shook them off, and appeared before the world and in the presence of his friends, with a calm demeanor and a pleasant countenance."

"As an editor," observes Gen. Atwood, in the *State Journal*, "Mr. Hyer possessed every decided talent. His long practice and natural tact made him conversant with just what was needed to make a paper a success. He looked well after the local items; and his leading editorials were written with great clearness, and were not overburdened with words. His style as a writer was attractive. We have never heard but one fault found with Mr. Hyer as an editor. He was at times personal and bitter towards his opponents, and used terms that were deemed too severe to be effective. This was no doubt partially owing to the fact of his early connection with the press of Wisconsin, when party warfare partook more of a *personal* character, than at the present day. He then acquired the habits of the times, and they remained with him to a degree that was not always agreeable, even to his party friends. But all in all he was an excellent editor, and very popular with the members of the craft.

"Socially, Mr. Hyer was remarkably pleasant and attractive. He possessed a retentive memory, and could relate interesting incidents of early life in the West, with great fluency and clearness. In familiar conversation he had few superiors. It was our fortune to be his personal friend for many years. Although we differed in our political sentiments and opinions, as widely as any two men well could differ, there never was a personal difference between us. In business, our relations have also been extensive and intimate, and we have ever found Mr. Hyer upright and honest in all transactions. In his death, we feel that a near and dear personal friend has been taken from us.

"All in all, Mr. Hyer has lived a life of activity and practical usefulness. As a man, an editor and a printer, he was universally respected, and his death will sink deep into many hearts."

Character of George Hyer

By Horace A. Tenney

Probably if we were to seek for an exceptional pursuit among the occupations of men, during the generations past, it would be found in the average career of the editor of a newspaper. The lives of men generally run in plain grooves, from which there is little divergence as the years pass—a permanency not found among early printers. Yet even in this pursuit we shall discover that the craft obeyed a general law. Nearly every member of the profession of any note has had a common experience in the education that has fitted him for his after career. He has had the rugged road of poverty, privation, and disappointment, only at length to more certainly develop intellectual powers, and pursue his mission with keener and sharper perceptions of his true relations to the world. His files are too often little else than a tangible evidence of his wandering footsteps—the evidence of things hoped for, rather than seen. They prove an impulse for change in earlier times that does not now exist—that the press ever marched at the head of the column of advancing civilization, and only encamped permanently and successfully with the division it happened to accompany.

The career of our lamented friend, George Hyer, whose memory we would commemorate, was no exception to the average experience of his associates. He was one of the leaders of the van of his craft in a new and untried field, and in his time was the parent of many useful enterprises long settled into permanent results. What editor, indeed, grown to his profession through the legitimate channel of the press or composing room, has ever found any other pursuit fitted to his mind, or that would content him? Born of the craft, it may

be truthfully said that once an editor, always an editor, whatever changes and mutations may happen. In this respect the profession is comparable with no other. The habit is a second nature.

It is not enough to say of such a person that he was born or died at any certain date, or that he filled a certain useful sphere with distinguished ability. Life is not so much made up of years as of actual deeds, of impulses given, of impressions made, which must long survive and endure beyond tablets of marble.

A newspaper in Wisconsin in 1836, and for many years thereafter, subserved a very different purpose in its relations to society, from what it does at present. It was then a teacher, and not a mere chronicler of passing events. Its influence and its power were far greater. The embryo of a State was then in process of formation, and the press was its natural mother. Elemental principles of government were then the chief subjects of discussion in their application to a new sovereignty that was to spring almost from chaos, and take its proper rank among sovereigns and equals. Politics were little regarded except in their bearings on fundamentals. Parties had little, and but precarious foothold, and the new community had not yet learned to accept the name of a thing for its substance. It was an era of free and unrestrained thought—of grand ideas of equality—of honorable ambition neither marred by selfishness nor influenced by the hope of pecuniary profits. The scant population were put in mental training to discharge coming duties on a higher plane than Territorial dependence; and the mission of the press was to mould the public sentiment into shape, and stamp it with imperishable ideas of right and justice. All that Wisconsin has now left of fundamentals, valuable to itself and the world, is the work of that time. There happens but one era to a State when singleness of purpose for the public welfare alone, and unselfish and uncalculating patriotism prevails, and that is the dawn of its career. After that the influences that surround it seem to wholly change, and generally for the worse.

It is one of the fictions of the older States that the population of new Territories is necessarily coarse, ignorant, lawless and far inferior to their own. This conclusion is assumed generally, as a matter of course—a fact, indisputable, and to be taken for granted. As applied to the earlier settlers of Wisconsin, nothing could have been more at variance with the truth. Indeed the first comers were among the very select minds of the States from whence they came—the equal, if not the superior, of those left behind—men of marked individuality, and of high cultivation, who lacked nothing to fit them to be founders of a new empire, and who have shown by what they have accomplished that they were equal to every occasion. Even now, after death has taken so simple a toll from the pioneers, the survivors, wherever found, are every where the centre of a circle of influence and respect as yet unattained by later comers. Truly there were giants in those days, representing every quality that makes up the full sum of manhood, and every element to fit them for the mission they have so grandly accomplished.

What higher tribute can we pay to the memory of Mr. Hyer than to say that among such a people he was ever a recognized equal—an acknowledged leader, and true representative? How many lesser lights were extinguished while he kept the advance, ever conspicuous for sincerity, honesty, and singleness of purpose. Let it suffice us generally to say, that he put his imprint upon his era, probably more than any other member of the craft, and that the world has been gladdened and bettered by his long and honorable labors.

In estimating the character and services of men, the world is quite too apt to mistake notoriety for greatness—to assign to the general in command the merit of his soldiers. But it is a part of the mission of every press to manufacture these very leaders, and lift them from obscurity to prominence. Looking at the product, it often happens that the real maker is looked upon as less than his handiwork. As we write these lines, memory brings before us a long array of officials reaching from the first to the latest Governor and subordinate officers, and

yet in the whole line we recall not one more than the equal in intelligence, and none the superior of George Hyer. He was second to no one of all who have passed off our political stage in any quality that constitutes true greatness. The State honored his work rather than him, so far as high position was concerned. Indeed he never sought office for its own sake, and in his long and useful career, only accepted it when he believed he would render useful service to the masses. His publieved he would render useful service to the masses. What more could be said of any one?

As an editor, Mr. Hyer was both fearless and faithful to his own convictions of right. He wielded a pen of great power, and in sharp political struggles made himself felt in a way not always pleasant to opponents. He cut with a keen blade, but always without malice or bitterness. The contest over, he was never known to harbor private resentment. Indeed his magnanimity and fairness to opponents was one of his most noted traits of character. No one more readily acknowledged an error, or was quicker to make reparation. Socially he was genial and kind to all—proud of his profession, and loved by all associated with him in every relation. His nature was generous and sympathetic. His friends were legion, and if he had anything like enemies, they are unknown. Most emphatically we say of him, that he was great in the true sense of the term, and that he was a good man whose life's average marked high in its every relation to the world. His death has left a void in the pioneer ranks which can never again be filled.

The North-West in 1817: a Contemporary Letter

By Samuel A. Storrow*

Brownville, 1st December, 1817.

To Major General Brown,

My Dear Sir,—I beg leave to submit to you a detail of such occurrences, subsequent to my departure from you, as have not already been presented in a different shape. Whatever relates to the tour is due to yourself, as your request was the cause of it.

At midnight of the day when I took leave of you at Detroit, August 17th, 1817, I embarked in a barge to proceed by the river and Lake St. Clair to Fort Gratiot. The country bordering the two waters I found level and fertile. It is scantily peopled by French Canadians, who reside on the margin and make no improvements in the interior. The small surplus of their produce is purchased by vessels coasting between the lakes. In the rear of the settlements is a growth of substantial timber, and an abundant supply of natural grass. At the upper parts of the river the soil meliorates; the banks are high and often picturesque. On the evening of the 19th, I reached Lake Huron and Fort Gratiot.

Without recurrence to the map a stranger is led into error from the different names given to the same water. Since leaving Detroit I had been on one stream, known in its various parts as Detroit river, Lake St. Clair, the river St. Clair, and the river Huron. Fort Gratiot is situated on the right bank of the latter, which is the rapid formed by Lake Huron in its first outlet to the waters below. Its direction is from north to

* Of Samuel A. Storrow, the author of this narrative, we only know that he was a native of Massachusetts, and acting Judge Advocate in the army of 1815; Judge Advocate in 1816; and resigned, Feb. 5, 1820. This narrative was published in pamphlet form, 39 octavo pages; the Society's copy is without title page, if it ever had any, and we can find no reference to it in any of the catalogues of the principal American libraries. L. C. D.

south, its width about 800 yards, its length about a mile, and the rapidity of the current nearly five miles an hour. With Fort Gratiot itself you are already acquainted. The site of it is within three hundred yards of the Lake, on a slight eminence about 150 yards distant from the water's edge; so that the guns of a well constructed work may command the strait and its opposite bank, which for more than the range of common shot is elevated but a few feet above the water.

Considering the river Huron as the natural avenue from the Upper to the Lower Lakes, it is surprising that no efforts were made to insure the command of it previously to the year 1814. To ourselves, under the existing mode of communicating with the north-western frontier it affords the only means of commercial or military conveyance. To the British, it serves for the former, although for the latter they have found an expensive substitute in the land and water carriage from York to their naval depot on Lake Huron. The position is less important towards any white neighbor than towards the Indians. To them it is the only thoroughfare. The possession of it engenders new dependence during peace, and might become a most important barrier against invasion. The intervention of a fortress between an Indian and his home, is an insuperable obstacle to distant warfare. Had the pass been defended in 1812, few would have gone beyond it to the siege of Detroit.

Within the range of the guns of the fort there is a fishery, which for years, perhaps ages, has given sustenance to the tribes inhabiting the lower parts of Lake Huron. From this and other causes they have ascribed to it a moral value even beyond its due, and rarely pass without making it, as much from superstition as convenience, a resting place on their way below.

Fort Gratiot commands an interesting, but limited view of the Lake, on both sides of which the shores are low, as far as the eye can extend. In the immediate vicinity the soil is indifferent, although not bad; on the British side it is inferior, and seems an alluvial deposit of sand. It bears marks of

having gradually advanced on the water; is loose and barren, and, for three or four miles towards the interior, not different from that of the margin. The country, wherever it can be essayed, is secondary, like the region of which it is a part. The pebbles lining the beach are in equal proportions secondary and primitive; small pieces of silex, quartz, and detached morsels of granite, being found in the same quantity with secondary limestone. There are no large rocks on the shore or near it. On reaching Lake Huron, I felt a renewal of the mortification which I expressed to you on leaving Sackett's Harbor: I mean the portable barometer, with which I had intended to have taken the altitude of the Upper Lakes, but which was broken at the commencement of our tour.

On the 22d (August), I embarked from Fort Gratiot in a small vessel for Michilimackinac; but, after an uncomfortable absence of twenty-fours,* was forced back into the strait by one of the severe tempests for which this Lake is remarkable. On the 25th, we embarked under better auspices; at mid-day of the 26th, found ourselves off Point au Bargue, at sunset off Point au Sable, the eastern and western capes of Saguina Bay. This immense bay commences near the center of Michigan, in a river of the same name, and, after passing a fertile country, occupied by the Saguinas and Chippewas, empties itself from the south-west into Lake Luron. Its width at the mouth is thirty miles.† It generally carries with its current a wind and sea which disturb the lake for some distance. At midnight of the same day we passed Thunder Bay, and the islands of the same name, which they derive from the incessant storms which prevail in their neighborhood. On the morning of the 27th, found ourselves near to Presque Isle; at evening caught sight of the island of Bois Blanc, and on the morning of the 28th, anchored, after a rapid passage, at Michilimackinac.

The first view of this interesting island justified the expectation it had excited. Its picturesque situation, abrupt eminences, and military facilities, resemble some rare effort of

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* Probably twenty-four hours. L. C. D.
† Father Hennepin calls it twenty leagues!

the pencil, where fancy and fact are blended. After passing the beach, which is lined with Indian wigwams, you enter a contemptible village of forty or fifty houses, filled with a squalid, mixed race of Indians and Canadians. The ground is level for the space of one hundred and sixty yards, when there rises an abrupt eminence of one hundred and twenty-five feet, which extends irregularly from the east nearly to the west of the island. This elevation is ascended diagonally, and on the summit is planted Fort Mackinac, which seems to impend over the village below. In the rear of this height rises another, which, from the suddenness of the first, cannot be seen from the village. On leaving Fort Mackinac, to ascend it, the ground is at first gradually inclined. At the distance of five hundred yards it becomes precipitous; and, after a perpendicular of one hundred and fifty feet in one hundred and thirteen yards distance, ends in a summit on which is planted Fort Holmes—making the distance between Fort Holmes and Mackinac six hundred and thirty yards, and the elevation of the former over the latter one hundred and eighty-six feet nine inches. No scenery can be more sublime than that exhibited within the range of this eminence. The harbour of the island faces the south, eastwardly. In front of it lie Round Island and Bois Blanc; in the rear of these islands, and extending towards the west, appears the main land of the Michigan Territory, terminating in old Mackinac, which projects into the Lake from the southwest. Opposite to old Mackinac lies Point St. Ignace; between which two projections is the confluence of Lakes Michigan and Huron. On the northwest stretches the mainland of the Illinois Territory, extending in beautiful undulations towards the northward, and, in the north itself, the many islands of Lake Huron. This archipelago, the distant mainland, and the expanse of the two lakes, form one of the most imposing spectacles I have ever witnessed.

The Island of Michilimackinac is from twenty-two to twenty-five miles in circumference.* Except in the north its banks

* Latitude 45 deg., 54 min., 15 sec. Observation taken by Major Gratiot and myself.

are precipitous. Leaving Fort Holmes, the ground, which is uneven with frequent abrupt eminences, is intersected by numerous small winding paths, overshadowed by alders, birch, and pines, which form a natural arbor in every direction. On the eastern side, I found one of the most interesting natural curiosities I have ever witnessed. On the edge of the island, where as elsewhere, the banks are perpendicular, you creep cautiously toward the margin, expecting to overlook a precipice; instead of which you find a cavity of about 75 degrees descent, hollowed from the direct line of the banks; and across it on the edge of the precipice, connecting above the parts which the excavation has divided below, an immense and perfect arch. Its height is 140 feet from the water, which is seen through it. It is supported midway of this eminence by a sort of natural abutment, above which it is elevated about 50 feet, with a sweep of 45 feet. Looking from the interior, the excavation resembles a crater; but, instead of an opposite side, presents an opening, which is surmounted by this magnificent arch. Passing under it, which is done with some difficulty and danger, you find the foundation of the right arm to rest on another arch, of an elevation of about five feet, through which you are led in a different direction, in an inclination of about 60 degrees. Having passed it, you find yourself two-thirds of the way down the precipice, and accomplish the rest by fastening to the shrubbery and projecting rocks which are about you. When on the beach below, you see this mighty arch 140 feet above you, half hid in trees, and seemingly suspended in the air. It may be accounted for, in the more rapid decomposition of the lower than of the upper parts of the bank. A rocky substance above, resting on one less solid below, remains entire, and supported by the coherence of its own parts, notwithstanding the dilapidation of its basis. From the Lake it appears like a work of art, and might give birth to a thousand wild and fanciful conjectures. Had the region been known in fabulous times, it would not have been without its name in history. The caprice of nature would have been

ascribed to the agency of giants or demi-gods, and perhaps transmitted to posterity as the final relic of some temple dedicated to the colossal genius of the island.

The bed of Michilimackinac is of limestone, on which there seems to have been the action of no acid except the carbonic. It is secondary, but upon the surface are found numerous masses of primitive foundation, such as granite, gneiss, hornblende, and silex. The beach is lined with pebbles of secondary limestone. From the formation and shape of the islands, there are indications that its surface has been formed at different periods by the recession of the Lake. Fort Holmes and the Sugar Loaf Rock (a conical rock of that name) would seem to be the first parts that had emerged; the high ridge, on which is planted Fort Mackinac, and which nearly encircles the island, the second; the low shores of the north, and the plain about the harbor on the south side, the third.

If Michilimackinac commanded any pass, the position would be invaluable, for it may be made impregnable. The small bay and south side are overlooked and defended by Fort Mackinac, which fort is overawed by Fort Holmes. The east, and a greater part of the west sides, are impracticable of ascent. The shores of the north are lower, and the only parts where a lodgment could be effected. But even were the foothold gained, the winding paths, abrupt eminences, and tangled under-growth would preclude an advance beyond it. With such advantages of ground, a weak garrison could cripple any assailing force before it could reach Fort Holmes, which position might be the citadel as well as the summit of the island. The eminence rises like a mound, and is unassailable except on one side, which, being narrow, might be fortified by art. The possession of this spot enabled the British to accomplish the *ruse,* which gave them the island in 1812; yet, important as it is, it was neglected by the French, the English, and ourselves, until fortified by the English in 1813 with a blockhouse, surrounded by a fraise and ditch. Old Mackinac scarcely deserves the name of a fortification, being merely a

platform enclosed within palisades. There are four block-houses; the two towards Fort Holmes, intended as bastions, being entirely useless.

I have already expressed to you my obligations to Col. McNeil,* of the 5th Infantry, for daily acts of kindness during my stay within his command; being now about to leave it for Lake Superior, he furnished me with a boat manned by five soldiers, and increased the favour by giving me as a companion, Lieut. Pierce, of the Artillery.

I embarked on the 1st of September. At the distance of 12 miles from Michilimackinac, we entered a cluster of islands on the west of the Lake; among which (pursuing our course north, a little eastwardly) we remained during the day, and encamped on one of them at night. At about mid-day of the 2d, we entered the Detour (the bay of which St. Mary's river is the head). Passing the southern-most cape, and leaving Drummond's Island on the right, we commenced a westwardly direction, and towards evening arrived at the beautiful but deserted Island of St. Joseph's. We continued coasting on the south side of this island, passing many others on our left, until late at night, when we encamped; and the next morning pursued the same course, having left St. Joseph's behind us. In the afternoon of the same day we reached a short but very swift rapid, running among a group of small islets, making a sort of miniature archipelago; immediately on passing which we entered the St. Mary's. After being encircled with islands, the view of this bold and noble river has a most imposing effect. It is about a mile and a half in width, and perfectly straight for the distance of two miles, at the end of which you see the Falls of St. Mary, like a bridge of foam directly across it. In the vicinity of the Falls there is an establishment of the North-West Fur Company, and a number of individuals engaged in the same traffic.

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*Gen. John McNeil, Jr., born in New Hampshire in 1784; entered the army as captain in March, 1812, and particularly distinguished himself in the battles of Chippewa and Niagara, in the latter of which he was severely wounded, rapidly promoted to major, lieutenant colonel, and colonel; brevet brigadier general in 1824; resigned in April, 1830. He was one of the commissioners who held important Indian treaties at Prairie du Chien in 1829; was surveyor of the port of Boston, and died at Washington city, Feb. 23, 1850. L. C. D.

After being hospitably entertained by a gentleman residing on the English side of the river, I embarked in a birch canoe, manned with Canadian *voyageurs,* for Lake Superior. After passing the portage of the Falls, we re-embarked, and in a few hours, reached Point au Chene, on the British side, where the Lake commences; from which spot I took my first view of it, and that not without feelings of emotion. The wind being high, it was impossible to proceed farther in the canoe, which I left and walked about four miles; when I saw on my right, on the north side, about a league distant, Point Gros Cap, and at a greater distance, on the south side, Point aux Iroquois—both high projecting promontories, which would seem, at some former period, to have formed one connected ridge, through which the lake has since forced its way. The shores about me were low and barren, being merely an alluvion of sand; a few leagues distant they became higher. As the wind precluded the use of the canoe, and a swamp being before me, I was obliged to content myself with this limited view, and, after an unavailing attempt to reach Gros Cap, reluctantly retraced my steps.

From the Lake to the edge of the Falls our passage was swift, the current rapidly increasing as we advanced. We performed the descent (for which we previously prepared ourselves) in four and a half minutes, from the upper to the lower edge, a distance of nine hundred yards, the fall being twenty-two feet ten inches. Neither the fall nor the rapidity of descending it are remarkable; the danger and interest are excited by the eddies, the adroitness of the boatman, and the number of rocks that make the adroitness indispensable. In the spring, when the waters are high, vessels of eighty or one hundred tons pass down on being lightened. The width of the river is a mile and an eighth; the passage is on the American side.

I was not a little mortified in being impeded in my attempts to reach Gros Cap, or some other high shore of Lake Superior, as, from indications about me, I was induced to expect the means of interesting speculation in mineralogy. On entering

the Detour, I found the earthy substances to be all of secondary limestone, on the loosest and most recent formation. When within a few leagues of the Falls, I observed this body to change and give place to a compact sandstone, such as is known by the name of *old red sandstone;* of this the bed of the Falls was composed, as well as the region about it. Upon the surface were scattered masses of primitive formation to a greater extent than I had witnessed before, and all deeply oxidated with iron. There were many pebbles of silex, and more of iron pyrites. I had likewise heard that the beds of Gros Cap and Point aux Iroquois, and the line at the bottom of the lake between these two points, were formed of a singular composition, which, from description, I supposed to be *graywacke.* These several appearances induced a belief that the geological character of the country was about changing; that after leaving a secondary region, as the Falls and parts below, passing a transition (if my conjectures were correct), as Gros Cap, I might be led to one of primitive formation above.* It would have been important to ascertain the correctness of this conjecture for the sake of the fact itself, but more especially as the confirmation of it might have led to the discovery of metallic productions, such as are ordinarily found under similar associations.

I procured, and have shown to you, a specimen of the copper ore of this region, but could obtain no sufficiently satisfactory information relative to it. It is found in the fissures of a rock or rocks, and in equal purity to the samples you have seen; so that it is cleft from its bed by the natives with tomahawks. The bed is two hundred miles distant from the outlet of the Lake. Important as this subject is, my information respecting it is too indistinct to warrant a further account.

Few or none of the Indians of Lake Superior came from it during the late war; but as our settlements are advancing towards their retreat, they may not be equally backward at a future period. A military position at the Falls, by command-

* I expected a coincidence of geological characters, such as is found near Northampton, in the State of Massachusetts.

ing the avenue which leads from one lake to the other, might obviate the danger of an inroad before it commenced. Michilimackinac, notwithstanding its strength, is of no intrinsic utility. Its importance is relative, being derived from the garrison, the Indian agency and custom-house. Were these removed to Lake Superior, the effect would be the same on the natives who have heretofore frequented that island, while the defences of the frontier would be made more perfect, and the tribes of the Upper Lake overawed by the occupancy of their only outlet. On the American side there is, as I have already mentioned, an elevation suitable for the site of a fort. There is none on the opposite bank.

About midnight on the 5th, I embarked to return to Michilimackinac. At 3 o'clock P. M. of the 6th, reached the neighborhood of the Detour, and landed on Drummond's Island, in order to look at the British post at that place. In landing on the south side I was surprised at what I took to be a recession of the Lake. For the first hundred and fifty yards, the ground is gently elevated, and the earthy productions bear the same character and appearance as those at the bottom of the Lake, large round masses of secondary limestone; on reaching the summit, they change to a congregation of small pebbles of different sorts, rounded by the action of the water, and arranged in the same manner as on the beach; the whole giving every indication of having once been the immediate margin of the water. Should this be the case, the descent of the Lake must have been one hundred feet from its former elevation.

This island is garrisoned by a single company, and has no advantages except that of a small and secure harbor. I encamped on the night of the 6th, on an island of the Lake, and, on the evening of the 7th, arrived at Michilimackinac; having experienced more than once how dangerous and treacherous is the navigation of Lake Huron, in the manner in which I attempted it.

After a day or two spent in Michilimackinac I embarked for Green Bay, in an open boat manned with soldiers, a guide

and interpreter, and happily my former companion, Mr. Pierce. We reached Point St. Ignace, leaving old Mackinac on our left, and rowed westwardly along the north shore of Lake Michigan, having the expanse of the Lake open to us on the south. We traced this course until ten o'clock at night; when on leaving to encamp, I was surprised at the singular and capricious forms which the storms of the Lake had given to the sand on the beach. For the distance of half a mile it was thrown into mounds of every shape, angular and conical acclivities, abrupt ascents and descents of the wildest and most grotesque appearance. These singular varieties, our tents, fires, and the soldiers carrying baggage, gave the scenery an air rather of Africa than of America, and likened ourselves to some tribe wandering on the sands.

For the succeeding days, the 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th, we pursued the same course, the passage being marked with no peculiar incidents. At times I walked a distance on and about the beach; at other times the wind or surf obliged us to remain encamped. The country was marked by no peculiarities; it was generally rocky and barren, a character that would be natural to the margin of the Lake. The bed of the country is secondary limestone, on which the soil is thin. We occasionally met natives, and on all parts of the beach the tracks of wild animals, particularly bears. Our course led us past the river Manastie (so called from its abundance of fish), and several other streams of inconsiderable importance. We likewise passed several projections of land, known by the names given by the *voyageurs,* of Point la Carpe, Point de Patterson, Point Schouchoir, Point aux Ecorces, and others; until, on the 15th, we reached Point Detour; at which point commences the chain of islands which extend across that arm of Lake Michigan, called Green Bay, and connect with the western extremity of the mainland of that Lake. Our course now lay across this traverse, a navigation hazardous to an open boat, as it leads into the broad Lake, and often to a distance from land.

Leaving Point Detour directly in our rear, and a large body of water, called Baie des Noquets,* behind us on the right, we assumed a southwardly direction, in order to gain the opposite cape of Green Bay, called Cap Port des Morts. The course lay among islands. The first, seven miles distant from the main, contained a large Indian village. We passed it, and entered a cluster, in which some bore the marks of fertility; others were merely sand banks. Among this group there was one of singular beauty. It rose perpendicularly from the water to an elevation of seventy feet, and was composed of secondary limestone, smooth and regularly stratified, so as to give it the appearance of the façade of some stately edifice. On the summit it bore a growth of timber, the trees growing on the very margin, so as to continue the perpendicular of the sides. On the upper as well as lower parts, it bore evident marks of the attrition of water. On the night of the 15th, we encamped on an island, and on the morning of the 16th, made our way to another. While upon it we were met by a small party of Indians, one of whom our interpreter recognized to be Cecoton, or The Spring Deer, an Ottawa warrior of a fierce and turbulent character. He pointed to an island, which, he said, was the haunt of his tribe and family, whither we proceeded. It was the most beautiful of the group, and known to the *voyageurs* by the name of the Isle de Petit Detroit, from its facing a small strait formed by itself and another island which nearly encircles it. The grounds where we first landed bore the marks of recent cultivation, but were uninhabited.

Following a winding path, we reached a cemetery, decorated after the rude manner of the natives, with flags and paint; each grave being sheltered by a mound of bark, containing an aperture for the deceased to breathe through, and in front the remnants of food and embers. The pathways led us through many beautiful but deserted fields, where the industry of the Indians had mellowed the wildness of their island, and formed

* An ancient tribe of Indians of that name.

a scene apparently too tranquil for a turbulent spirit like that of Cecoton. Finding no one abroad, we discharged our muskets to attract some of the islanders; the sound was answered by the barking of a dog, and soon afterward we encountered a man, armed, and apparently acting as sentinel. He told the interpreter that the people were on the skirts of a forest at a distance, where they cultivated the fields. We followed him, and were led into a large and wretchedly tilled cornfield, in the midst of which were a number of cabins. Among the many interesting objects which this strange community presented, was an old chief of not less than ninety years of age, who had been a warrior from his youth. He was naked, like those about him, and by no means deficient in strength and agility.

Leaving this beautiful island, we reached, on the 16th, the southerly cape of Green Bay, Port des Morts, so called from the destruction at this place of a number of the Pottowotomies. The cape itself is high and perpendicular. We encamped under the precipice on a small margin, the water washing the foot of our tent. On the morning of the 17th, we commenced our course westwardly along the shore, stopping at several islands, one of which contained a small miniature harbor, and the marks of Indian cultivation. The cabins were deserted, but on exploring the island we found the dead body of a man extended on a scaffold, after the manner of the Chippewas. Implements of the chase were at his side, and at the foot of the scaffold, the remnants of a deer.

Throughout the 17th and 18th, we continued our course, and reached, on the night of the latter day, Cape Winnebago, having passed the Baie des Eturgeons, the Vermillion Islands and River Rouge. From the bottom of the Baie des Eturgeons there is a portage of but two miles to Lake Michigan.

We were now, as we had been since the 16th, in Green Bay, which is the grand channel of communication between the Mississippi and the Lakes, and is a body of water on the same noble scale as the Delaware or Chesapeake. It takes its rise

and principal source in the Fox river (Outagamis), which nearly unites with the Ouisconsin, which latter runs in an opposite direction, and is one of the most important tributary streams of the Mississippi. At its head this bay receives the Fox, Duck and Devil rivers. On the northern side is the Monomonee, or Wild Rice river, a stream which takes its source near Lake Superior, and is a mile and a half in width at its mouth. On the same side, near the outlet, is the Bay des Noquets, and on the south the Bay des Eturgeons and River Rouge, just mentioned. From the head (the Fox river) to the opening into Lake Michigan the distance is ninety miles; and across the opening, which is guarded by the chain of islands I have mentioned, the width is thirty miles. These islands, excepting the few which are merely of sand, are lofty and generally precipitous. Their formation is exclusively secondary limestone. The eastern parts of the south side of the Bay are of the same structure and composition until reaching the Sturgeon Bay; when the banks become lower, the soil meliorates and produces a growth of white and red oak, sugar maple and pine.

On the 19th we arrived at a wretched and half starved village of Ottawas; in the afternoon of the same day we reached the Fox river, and three-fourths of a mile from the mouth of it, the Fort of Green Bay, where I was kindly received, and spent several days.

The site and structure of this work I have already explained to you. At no part of the Indian frontier could a fortress be more useful or indispensable. It is in the chain of connection with the Indian settlements between the Mississippi and the Lakes. It opens a way to their retreats in the West, and commands their thoroughfare towards the East. The Fals Avoines, Ottawas, Pottowotomies and dangerous Winnebagoes consider this place as their accustomed and privileged haunt. In times of peace they sometimes assemble about it to the number of one or two thousand; but for hostile purposes might collect twice that number on the most sudden emergen-

cy. The importance of the position was apparent in the jealousy with which the nations regarded the occupancy of it. They considered it as a check to their predatory habits, and assembled in a body to oppose it; being overawed at that moment, they have since threatened that the first reduction of numbers at the post, that they shall make it their own.

The inadequacy of a single garrison to repress so great a number of malcontents, would naturally lead to the means of rendering this important position capable of its own defence. A small compact community of whites might easily effect it. If, at the late disbandment of the army, the Indian title to a few thousand acres on the banks of this river had been extinguished and conferred, as bounty lands, on certain select soldiers, who would have pledged themselves to become actual settlers; the contiguity of their farms, their coherence for common protection and a fort to resort to, on emergency, would, if it did not modify the Indian character, at least have formed a cheap and permanent barrier against encroachment. No other inducement would have been required to form such a colony than the continuance of rations for a single year after disbandment.

The position of the fort is, as I have already mentioned, on the left bank of the river, the same with that of the former French and English works. Below the fort, towards the bay, is an extensive prairie bordering the river, on the banks of which there is a growth of wild rice; above it there is a meagre settlement of French Canadians intermingled with the natives. During the late war this unhappy colony experienced every misery to which its contiguity to the savages could subject it. Most of the inhabitants enrolled themselves with the Indian warriors, and came to the field with them; from the guilt of which they may be exonerated, from which their defenceless situation, and the destruction which would have been the consequence of a refusal. In conversing with this outcast people, I was surprised at their devotion to the land of their fathers, although the memory of no man living reaches to the

period of the connection. The lapse of half a century, which has made them the property of two different Governments, affords nothing to obliterate their traditionary remembrance of France, their primitive country. Their livelihoods are derived from the fur-trade; but, notwithstanding the cold of their winter, they might be supported by agriculture. The ice leaves the river at the close of March, and the fields may be tilled in May. The soil is above mediocrity, and congenial to the growth of vegetables and wheat; the summer is too short for corn. The prairies afford sustenance for any quantity of cattle.

While at Green Bay I made observations on the ebb and flow of a lake tide. The existence of this phenomenon has been known for nearly a century and a half,* and yet has occasioned no thought nor investigation. Even Volney has allowed it to pass without a theory! At 11 o'clock, A. M., I placed a stick perpendicularly in the water; at half past nine, P. M., the water had risen five inches; at 8, the next morning, it had fallen seven inches; at 8, of same evening, it had risen eight inches. During this period the wind was in the same direction, blowing gently against the flow of the tide.

After a short stay at Green Bay, I made arrangements with a Fals Avoine chief to conduct me as a guide to the Winnebago Lake; from whence it was my determination to proceed on foot, through the wilderness, to Chicago. At mid-day of the 22d of September, I took leave of Maj. Taylor† and the officers of the 3d Regiment, who had most kindly entertained me. I likewise took a reluctant leave of my excellent companion, Mr. Pierce For the residue of the day my course lay on the left bank of the river, through good lands and a growth of oak. I passed two springs strongly impregnated with sulphur, and at night stopped at a rapid of the river called Kakalin, being the last house and the last whites I expected to see for the distance of 250 miles.

On the 23d I entered the wilderness, attended by my Indian guide and a soldier of the 3d Regiment, who led a pack-horse

*Father Marquette mentions this tide in 1673.

†Zachary Taylor, since President of the United States. L. C. D.

loaded with provisions and presents for the natives. We forded the Fox river, and, losing sight of it, proceeded in a westwardly direction; at first through a small Indian path, and, on that failing us, through a wilderness entirely trackless.

The journey of this day was painful and uninteresting. The thickness of the forest rendered marching difficult, and almost entirely impeded the horse; but for exertions in assisting him over crags, and cutting away branches and saplings with our tomahawks, we should have been obliged to abandon him. The land was broken with hillocks and masses of rock. The growth of timber indicated a cold soil, notwithstanding which we occasionally saw the sugar maple. At night we lay on the ground. On the morning of the 24th, we resumed our march, extremely chilled. The thickness of the forest prevented the rays of the sun from coming to the earth, and during the previous night the guide had obliged us to keep small fires from fear of the Winnebagoes, who were about us, and from whom there is always cause for apprehension.

After a toilsome march of eight or nine hours, we arrived abruptly at the shores of a circular lake, which I found to be Lake Winnebago. I never experienced a more grateful transition than from the damp and tangled wood to the sunny margin of this beautiful water. It is nearly round, and apparently about sixty miles in circumference. For a short time we walked upon the beach; but finding it too narrow, were again obliged to resort to our uncomfortable way through the thicket. While upon the beach I remarked that the number of primitive rock was unusual for this region. Granite, micaceous schistus, quartz pebbles, and trap were mixed with unequal proportions of secondary limestone. On the upland, the formations were exclusively of limestone.

My intention was to reach an Indian village, said to be on the southern shore of the Lake. Having journeyed all day, and slept in the same manner as the previous night, we resumed our march on the morning of the 25th. A melioration of the grounds, a few foot-paths and traces of habitation, de-

noted that we were near the object of our destination, and, shortly afterwards, in passing from a wood, we saw it at a distance. It was a village of Fals Avoines, situated on the edge of a prairie which borders Lake Winnebago. The Lake lay before it on one side, and on the other the prairie, rising with a gentle acclivity from the margin of the water. The spot was well chosen for beauty, warmth, and fertility. There was nothing about it that indicated a recent commencement. The grounds bore marks of long cultivation, and the few trees that were left standing seemed as if distributed for ornament and shade. The village has received the name of Calumet; it consists of about 150 souls, and has rarely been visited by whites, except a few *voyageurs* on their way to the Ouisconsin.

At our approach the villagers poured from their cabins, and gave a general shout, from the unwonted sight (as I supposed) of a white. Tomay,* the guide, was received with kindness, and his introduction procured what I supposed to be the same for myself. But as their unrelaxing features, coldness and taciturnity, would indicate anything rather than courtesy, it required the fullest conviction both of his and their intentions to enable me to place such civility to its proper account. I seated myself on the grass and was surrounded by the whole population of Calumet, the men eyeing me with contemptuous indifference, the females and children with a restless and obtrusive curiosity.

The distribution of tobacco among the former, and vermillion, salt, thread, and needles, among the latter, led to a better understanding, and a reciprocity of good offices. Tomay was to leave me at this place after furnishing me with another guide; a business which could not be performed before the accomplishment of all the ceremonies of introduction. I was therefore ushered between the arms of two dingy brethren, to a small lodge, where we formed a circle, smoked out of the same pipe, which went the rounds from mouth to mouth, and eat from a large kettle of wild rice placed in the midst of us.

* To-mah, the distinguished Menomonee chief, is fully noticed in the 1st, 2d and 3d vols. of *Wis. Hist. Colls.* L. C. D.

Our repast was made without the utterance of a single word, and I know not how long the silence and uncomfortable posture in which I sat might have continued, had I not made signs to Tomay, that I wished to make a general visit to the lodges, and then depart. In this visit I found nothing more than I had seen among nations from whom I had expected less. Sloth, filth, and indifference to the goods or ills of life, form the same characteristics of the remote Indians, as of those nearer to us. The similarity of traits is radical; disparity of situation makes but accidental shades. Necessity gives to the foresters an energy, which contact with the whites takes from the lower tribes. They present fewer instances of helplessness, petty vices, and premature decay from intemperance; but substitute in their stead the grosser and more unrelenting features of barbarism.

In the different cabins, the right of proprietorship seems well understood, but in none were there more goods than were requisite for immediate use; and such food as did not serve for the day, was generally trampled under foot. They seemed affectionate to their children, who were to a peculiar degree sprightly and handsome. The younger women possess good features, but wither at an early age, from the smoke of the cabins and hard labor in the fields.

While I had been feasting in the lodge, my man had received food in the field, where he sat an object of the wonder of all the children of the village. Tomay had procured me two guides, no one being willing to undertake the task alone, from fear of the Winnebagoes. I now prepared to depart, and endured the too affectionate embrace of Tomay and a large portion of his tribe; the black and red testimonials of which were left on my cheek. After this operation, from which the sisterhood were excluded, I departed with my two guides and attendant, amidst the shouts of the village.

My course was now for Chicago. The soldier who was with me had a trifling knowledge of some of the Indian languages, but not sufficient to procure an explanation of the sort of coun-

try we were to find, or the difficulties we had to encounter; we therefore looked to our Indian companions for nothing, relying solely on our own strength and perseverence to carry us through the unknown region. The first direction was southwardly, for about four miles, over fertile prairie, occasionally shaded by a small growth of oak; passing this, we inclined towards the west, and, after traversing a swamp, entered an extensive prairie, low and without trees, but bearing a luxuriant growth of grass of an average height of five feet. On the north it bordered the Winnebago Lake, and on every other side was fringed with forests appearing on the edge of the horizon. At a late hour we reached higher ground, where we slept. Since leaving the village we had passed several cabins, and many Indians of a singular and grotesque appearance, armed with bows and arrows.

On the 26th, having left the low prairie, we traversed a more elevated tract, distributed in gentle undulations; from the summit of which I could see grounds of the same character extending in every direction. There were no forests nor any undergrowth, more than a low shrubbery. The immense park, for it bore that appearance, was beautified by a growth of oak, occasionally single, and sometimes in groups, as if planted by art. I could scarcely imagine that a distribution, so consonant to the laws of taste, could have been made without the agency of man. At about mid-day the face of the country changed to a lower and wet soil, which continued for the distance of four or five miles, when it gave place again to one higher and better; watered, although inadequately, with small rivulets, and covered with white and red oak, and sometimes hickory. The white oaks were of the largest size. In the afternoon I arrived at the banks of a shallow, sluggish stream, about fifty yards in width, running towards the southeast. The fine tract I had passed in the early part of the day, was badly watered. From four o'clock of the preceding day to one of the present, I met no signs of water, not even the smallest brook.

On the morning of the 27th,* I found a severe frost. At about 10 o'clock, after having passed grounds inferior to those of yesterday, came to a small and handsome body of water, about eight miles in circumference; shortly after, to a second, of about three miles; after that, to a third, of about five miles in circumference.† I remained for some time to admire the beauty of these sequestered waters. Their stillness was disturbed only by the wild fowl, that were too little accustomed to the sight of man to heed my approach. The lands shortly became better, and more abundantly wooded and watered than those of yesterday; the white oak being the largest I had ever seen. The country may be said to be without rocks, the few I had seen during the two last days were detached, and of granite. The march of the present day had been more interesting than that of the day preceding, being relieved from the sameness of the prairies by occasional forests. In passing from the latter into the former, I realized the effect of what Denon describes on the plains of Egypt under the name of *mirage*. The thickets do not cease gradually, but change abruptly from forest into glade, so as to present to the traveler the atmosphere above the distant meadow in the certain shape and appearance of water. The illusion was many times so perfect as to convince me, that on leaving the wood that was about me, I should be led to the margin of some great lake of which I had before received no account. The Indians were equally deceived, and finding the error, by seeing the wood skirted by land instead of water, cried out, "Manitou" (Devil)—imputing the optical illusion to the agency of a spirit.

Throughout the day the course had been southeast. I supposed myself to be not far distant from the dividing ridge between the Mississippi and Lake Michigan; knowing that the elevation was not very remote from the Lake itself. Some of the prairies bore the appearance of having become so by art. At

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* There was no water where we lay. The ground being swampy, we dug a large hole with our tomahawks, and it was soon filled, but although this spot was but one hundred yards distant from the fire, neither of the Indians would go to it alone. They frequently, during the night, put their ears to the ground, as if to listen for noises.

† These were, perhaps, some of the beautiful cluster of lakes in the northwestern portion of Waukesha county. L. C. D.

night I slept in one, which was a perfectly formed parallelogram of about 900 yards by 500.

We commenced our march at sunrise of the 28th. The guides, who during part of the preceding day, had been sullen and silent, seemed now in entire ignorance of the way, and were leading towards the northeast. I refused to follow them, and after a fruitless and vexatious attempt to understand each other, or know if they understood the way, I insisted upon their leaving me; which they did after a long and unintelligible altercation. I should not have resorted to this measure, which left me alone in the wilderness, had I not been convinced that a day's march properly directed would bring me to the shores of Lake Michigan, or the River Millewackie where there are large settlements of Pottowotomies; but by following them I might be led, I knew not where. Of their worthlessness I had been already convinced. My attendant and myself, being now left alone, pursued an eastwardly direction by the compass, to endeavor to reach the shores of the Lake. In the afternoon we saw a track leading towards the southward. We followed it, and, finding to our joy that it widened,* continued in it until towards evening, when I caught from an eminence a distant view of a great water which I supposed to be Lake Michigan. On nearer approach, I perceived a river, and an Indian village; the coincidence of which convinced me that I had reached the Millewackie, at the confluence with the Lake.

On the morning of the 29th, I entered the village which belongs to the tribe of Pottowotomies. It is situated on the right bank of the river, which I crossed to reach it. I had probably been near to the river itself during the course of the preceding day. From its outlet it lies, for about fifteen miles, parallel to the Lake, when it makes an angle, and may be traced due westward, about thirty-five miles, to its source, which is within two miles of the *Riviere a la Roche*, a most valuable stream, emptying into the Mississippi. Near to its

* In the side of the path we saw a small stone *idol*, which convinced me that we were near to some encampment.

confluence with the Lake, the Millewackie is augmented by a small stream called the Monomoni, notwithstanding which, it does not retain the depth of its channel. The sands of the Lake form a bar across the mouth, over which there are not more than two feet of water. The soil is good, and the climate much softer than that of Green Bay. The Pottowotomie village is small; their chief, whose name in English is Old Flour, brought me an Indian who was on his way to Chicago, and might serve me as a guide thither. At mid-day I proceeded on my route, the first course of which was southwestwardly, and led over grounds which for several miles were low and swampy. I had been given to understand that I should arrive before night at a river called Schipicoten; but after attempting in vain to reach the river, or disentangle ourselves from the swamp, we were obliged to remain in it during the night, and resumed the march on the morning of the 30th. A few miles brought us to the margin of a dark and sluggish stream, which I supposed to be the Schipicoten.* It proved too deep to be forded, and, finding no material to construct a raft, we were obliged, cold and comfortless as it was, to cross it by swimming. Shortly after leaving the river we entered a prairie on which we remained throughout the day. It afforded no varieties. There were no rocks, nor more shrubbery than to afford a slender pasturage. A small growth of oak was sometimes grouped together in a picturesque manner. The grounds were undulated like those we passed; but that which was grateful, even delightful, at first glance, became tedious under so long a continuance. From leaving the Schipicoten in the morning, until sunset, I passed no water, nor anything that indicated it.

On the morning of the 1st of October I found a severe frost. On this day I expected again to see the Lake; and, after a distance of eight or ten miles, heard the sound of the waves on the beach. We reached it in the forenoon, and from indications supposed ourselves to be not more than a day's march

* Root River, which enters Lake Michigan at Racine. L. C. D.

from Chicago, our course to which for the remaining distance lay on the beach. During this day I observed that none of the streams which water the prairies make a visible entrance into the Lake. Being small, and running with scarcely sufficient rapidity to overcome the resistance of their banks, they are unable to penetrate the bed of sand which borders the Lake, but sink into the ground and deposit themselves underneath.

At the approach of night, I withdrew from the border of the Lake and slept on the sand. My horse, which had hitherto subsisted on the grass of the prairies, had for this night no food whatever. During the day I had met a great number of Indians, sometimes in large groups, moving like caravans. During the several previous days I had been often with them; a circumstance I did not mention in its place, from the little pleasure it gives me to refer to them. Thus far, in tracing them to their haunts, I have found none of the high qualities which have been so lavishly imputed to them; nothing to justify the contradictory expression of *savage virtue* or to warrant the belief of a radical difference between the Arab, the Algerine, or the Indian. Whatever immoralities may result from contact with the whites, it is still benevolence to promote the union. Left to their forests and themselves, they become the victims of their own wants and vices. There are certain enormities which are said to be the result of a first remove from barbarism, but what are even they to barbarism itself? The earliest gift of society to the savage may be its vices; but is this less the fault of the world he has left, than of that which he enters? Is it not the sad and necessary consequences of the savage condition, which makes the depravities of a new state the only acceptable parts of it? Assenting, however, to the unjust position that society has nothing but its evils to give; that Heaven forbids the Indian to become enlightened by means which have molded his fellow men; he gains enough if he but exchange vices. Even if instinct should fail in its ordinary effects; if necessity should not induce industry, nor industry virtue; yet society can give him nothing worse than

his original properties, nor lead him to any viler state than that in which it finds him.

I endeavored unsuccessfully to form some notion of their civil and religious polity. Like other primitive people, they are more easily marked by what they have not, than by what they have. Their chiefs are elected; but as there is nothing prescriptive among them, I could not ascertain the fairness or the formalities of the election, or the powers of the elected. I have known many instances of implicit, although reluctant, obedience, and others of successful refractoriness; from whence I inferred that authority is personal, and diminishes or augments according to accident or usurpation. Their councils are generally decorous. Age and experience are not without their prerogatives. The functions of government are subdivided. The war chief is the leader; the village chief, the guardian. The duties of neither can be very arduous; for where there are few possessions and few wants, there can be but few rights. They have enough of philosophy and religion to look to a First Cause, but clothe it with no attributes which they can explain, and offer no worship either of the heart or body. A stone of a peculiar shape, having before it some offerings, may remind you that they are not unmindful of a Deity; but whether it be intended for a symbol, or the original, whether for a god or a devil, is generally inexplicable.

In regard to morality, they have perhaps as much as their condition makes indispensable; if that can be called morality wherein the being and agency of a Supreme Being does not infuse itself, which acknowledges no retribution for good or evil, and no common obligation to coerce the individual, and, by extension, not alteration, to bind the community. The subsequent state of society makes no amends for this destitution of fundamental principles. There is no infringement of person, where rights are undefined. Want and expediency may make theft habitual. Falsehood may become venial, if falsehood and truth are blended in one result. The dearest attributes of life do not exist where there is no mutual dependence,

and the son may forget the father if he is indebted to him only for birth. It would be absurd to look for virtue, in the absence of those relations of society which alone can create it. Such seemed to me to be the state of Indians at peace. You yourself, sir, well know what they are in war. If I carried with me any respect for savage life, it is obvious that I brought none away. If I ever looked with complacency on man left to himself, I discarded the doctrine in the wilderness; to adhere more closely to institutions which have made us what we are, and without which, the savage, like an orb forever at the horizon, serves but to measure the distance of our elevation.

On the 2d of October, after walking for three or four hours, I reached the river Chicago, and, after crossing it, entered Fort Dearborn, where I was kindly entertained by Major Baker* and the officers of the garrison, who received me as one arrived from the moon. At Chicago I perceived I was in a better country. It had become so by gradual melioration. That which I had left was of a character far above mediocrity, but labors under the permanent defects of coldness of soil and want of moisture. The native strength of it is indicated by the growth of timber, which is almost entirely of white oak and beech, without pine, chestnut, maple, ash, or any kind which denotes warmth. The country suffers at the same time from water and from the want of it. The deficiency of circulation, not of water itself, produces this contradiction. It is not sufficiently uneven to form brooks to lead off its redundant rains and form a deposit for mid-summer. The snows of winter dissolve and remain on the ground until exhaled by the sun at a late period of spring. In prairies that are entirely level this produces a cold which is scarcely dissipated by the heat of summer; in such as are undulated, it renders one-half (that on which the water rests) useless, or of inferior value. It must be remembered, moreover, that this region is not to un-

* Maj. Daniel Baker, a native of Vermont, entered the service as an Ensign in Jan., 1799; became an Adjutant in 1802; First Lieutenant in 1806; a Captain in March, 1812, and for distinguished services in the battle of Maguago, in which he was wounded, was brevetted Major; distinguished in the affair at Lyon's Creek; promoted to Major in 1814, and Lieut. Colonel in 1829; commanded a regiment in the battle of Bad Axe in 1832; and died at Detroit, October 10, 1836. L. C. D.

dergo the changes incident to new countries generally, from the thinning of forests and exposure of the soil. It is already on the footing of the oldest, and has received for the lapse of ages all the heat it is ever to derive from the sun alone. At some remotely future period, when a dense population enables the husbandman to apply artificial warmth to his grounds, means of life may be extracted from this soil which are latent at present. It requires industry, and is capable of repaying it.

The river Chicago (or, in English, Wild Onion river) is deep and about forty yards in width, before it enters the Lake, its two branches unite—the one proceeding from the north, the other from the west, where it takes its rise in the fountain of the De Plein, or Illinois, which flows in an opposite direction. The source of these two rivers illustrates the geographical phenomenon of a reservoir on the very summit of a dividing ridge. In the autumn, they are both without any apparent fountain, but are formed within a mile and a half of each other by some imperceptible undulations of the prairie, which drain it and lead to different directions. But in the spring, the space between the two is a single sheet of water, the common reservoir of both, in the centre of which there is no current towards either of the opposite streams. This circumstance creates the singular fact of the insulation of all the United States excepting Louisiana, making the circumnavigation of them practicable, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to that of Mexico, with the single hindrance of the Falls of Niagara.

The Chicago forms a third partition of the great country I had passed. The Ouisconsin and Fox rivers make a water communication between the Mississippi and Michigan, with the exception of four miles. The Millewackie and *River a la Roche* the same, with half the exception. The Chicago and De Plein make, in the manner I have described, the communication entire. This latter should not escape national attention. The ground between the two is without rocks, and, with little labor, would admit of a permanent connection between the waters of the Illinois and Michigan.

The site and relations of Fort Dearborn I have already explained. It has no advantage of harbor, the river itself being always choked, and frequently barred, from the same causes that I have imputed to the other streams of this country. In the rear of the fort is a prairie of the most complete flatness, no sign of elevation being within the range of the eye. The soil and climate are both excellent. Traces yet remain of the devastation and massacre committed by the savages in 1812. I saw one of the principal perpetrators (Nes-cot-no-meg).

On the 4th of October I left Chicago* for Fort Wayne, having provided less uncomfortable means of traveling than for the ten previous days. Our course was to lay for about 60 miles on the beach of Lake Michigan, from thence inclining eastwardly to the St. Joseph's of the Lake, and thence due south to the Miami of Lake Erie. On the night of the 4th, I slept on the beach, after having forded the little Kennomick. I call it after the Indian pronunciation—Calumet is probably the name. On our right lay an extent of flat prairie, extending, as I supposed, to the Illinois.

On the morning of the 5th, we resumed our way upon a smooth and level beach; at 11 o'clock, supposed ourselves to be at the southern extremity of Lake Michigan; shortly afterwards crossed the greater Kennomick. The guide informed me that the shores on our right were flat and wet. I noticed on the beach many specimens of iron pyrites, and was inclined, although incorrectly, to imagine, from the decrease of limestone, and the appearance in its stead of substances of more remote formation, that the region was not the same with that I had left. Shortly after sunset we reached and crossed the River Du Chemin, at which place we were to leave the Lake. We

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* The river Chicago was first explored by La Salle and Hennepin, in 1679. I have been led into many errors from the mis-applied names and antiquated style of Hennepin's narration. He calls Lake Michigan the Lake of the Illinois, and Chicago the river Miamis. Time must have made a great alteration in this region, or both Hennepin and La Salle have erred egregiously in the description of it. The triangular eminence "naturally fortified" at the mouth of the Chicago,† and the distance of twenty-five leagues from the portage, between the Chicago and the Illinois, to the confluence of the former with the Lake, induce a belief that neither of them were there. La Salle, in his letter to Count Frontenac, errs in his description of the ground between the Chicago and Illinois, or, as he calls it, the Divine River.

† Mr. Storrow errs here; the river Miamis, at the mouth of which was the triangular eminence, was what is since called the St. Joseph. See Sparks's *Life of La Salle.* L. C. D.

slept on the border of it, and the next day resumed our way. We at first crossed a long and intricate swamp, which gave me no favorable impression of the country I was about to enter; on leaving it, however, we were led into lands which were well wooded and watered, and bore every indication of warmth and fertility. The growth of beech had disappeared, and the oaks were intermixed with a proportion of walnut, chestnut, sugar maple and ash. At noon, after ascending a gradual eminence, we were led into an extensive prairie, scattered over which were several Pottowotomie villages. Leaving these villages we entered another prairie of a different description, level and without trees, but covered with a luxuriant growth of grass. After this we again entered higher ground, and, at a late hour of the evening, reached (drenched in rain) the banks of the St. Joseph's.

The morning of the seventh presented the river St. Joseph and its beautiful and picturesque borders. Every beauty of scenery, that could satisfy the eye or the imagination, I found in the journey of this day. For eight or ten miles we were on the margin of the river, every winding of which developed some new attraction. The stream itself, and its many rivulets, had furrowed deep beds, which left the adjacent lands high, and moistened by waters that were never stagnant. The grounds were neither prairie nor forest, but a grateful alternation of opening and shade. The trees consisted principally of oak, hickory, chestnut, elm and walnut; the meadows were covered with deep shrubbery, which, from the season, had just ceased to be verdant; the small streams were bordered with a thick and strong sedge. Throughout the day there appeared little or no waste land; every part giving equal indication of warmth and fertility. I noticed but few rocks, and those of granite. At sunset we reached the Elk's-heart (a tributary river of the St. Joseph), and slept on the bank of it. In the early part of the eighth, the lands were of nearly the same description as those of the preceding day. After traveling eight or ten miles they changed to a soil of inferior character, low and swampy; towards the afternoon they became better.

If my conjectures were correct, we were during this day on the highest plain in the United States, perhaps in the world; proved to be so by the contiguity of the sources of the following great rivers, which diverge from nearly a common centre to every point of the compass: The greater St. Joseph's leading north into Lake Michigan, was behind me; the headwaters of the Wabash, which runs south, lay before me; the Kienkiki (properly called Theakiki) leading west into Illinois, on the right; and the lesser St. Joseph's, tending to the Miami of the Lake, equi-distant on the left. The altitude is proved by the remoteness of the regions visited by each one of these noble rivers, before it blends itself with the ocean. No one of them performs a journey of less than 2,000 miles, of gradual descent, and often with the augmentation of streams, that proceed from the most remote and unexplored distances. There was nothing that denoted the elevation or afforded a visible conviction, that I treaded a loftier region than any part of the horizon to which I turned my eyes. Thinking involuntarily that so interesting a spot could not be without productions to designate its peculiarity, I looked instinctively for some shrub, stone or flower that might bear the character of the spot where it lay. There was nothing, but my own reflections, to denote that I was in the heart of the country, its grand arteries pouring in every direction.

On the early part of the 9th passed several small ponds and much stagnant water. There were few prairies, the country thickly and well covered, notwithstanding which we passed several swamps. In the latter part of the day the lands became better; in the afternoon passed several small streams setting towards the southeast, and before evening reached the St. Mary's, which, with the St. Joseph's, forms the Miami of the Lake. At sunset I descried and reached Fort Wayne.

The nature of the country I have just passed, and the facilities of communication afforded by it, enchance the importance which I had already ascribed to Chicago. It being at the head of a probable connection between the Illinois and Michigan,

its remoteness from any dangerous neighbor, and its facility of deriving resources from the Miami of the Lake, the Wabash, and the fertile interior of Indiana, mark it as the future place of deposit for the whole region of the Upper Lakes. In war or peace, this immense district has been hitherto dependent for supplies on Detroit, which, without any one natural advantage, labors under the defects of contiguity to a foreign power, and a tardiness of water communication, which labor can scarcely surmount.

Between the two extremities, Forts Dearborn and Wayne, the facilities of communication yield to those of no other part of the United States. From the latter to a spot on the greater St. Joseph's (forty miles in the interior), there is an easy and expeditious water carriage; from thence there are forty miles where no efforts of art are required, the lands being high, open and dry throughout the year; for the remaining sixty, the labors of a captain's command might, in a single month, establish permanent means of transportation for every warlike or commercial supply. At the end of this distance, Fort Wayne might collect, as an entrepôt, whatever could be drawn from the interior of the States of Ohio and Indiana, through the waters of the Miami of the Lake or the Wabash.

The country between Lake Michigan and Fort Wayne is intrinsically capable of any product, and of sustaining the most dense population. As it requires only an outlet to call its resources into action, it is for the present dependent on that great undertaking, the honor of which is about to be taken from the United States by the single energy of the State of New York. The occurrence of this important event will give it impulse, population anl resources, and, what is still more desirable, a blended interest with other states.

You are already acquainted with Fort Wayne, and its ill-chosen site; as likewise all its military relations. It is situated in the midst of a fertile district; the soil is warm and the opening of the spring early. In the afternoon of the eleventh, I departed on horseback for Fort Meigs. I crossed

the Miami opposite the fort, and continued on the left bank until overtaken by night, when I slept on the dry leaves. In the morning resumed the route, which lay through a most fertile country. The way was near the bank of the river, which, from its many windings, could be seen but seldom, but at each time of presenting itself it afforded some new attraction. On remembrance it appears that I have scarcely ever referred to a river without enconiums of a similar sort. You can account for this general praise, in recollecting the intrinsic beauty of a river in the wilderness, and how many grateful associations are combined with it, independently of its effect on the eye.

It was my wish to reach Fort Defiance before night, but I found it to be impracticable. At sunset, after having kept the left bank of the river throughout the day, I forded it at a Delaware town, an ancient haunt of the tribe of that name, but which is now occupied by a few Pottowotomies. Having reached the right bank, I slept on the grass until the morning of the 13th, when, after having suffered much from the cold of the previous night I arrived at Fort Defiance at 9 o'clock. I carefully examined this spot from the interest excited by the military history of the decayed fort, and the intrinsic attraction of the confluence of the Miami and Au Glaize. The banks of the latter present, as far as the eye can extend, the richest display of beauty and fertility. In examining the remains of Gen. Wayne's fort, I found a spring strongly impregnated with sulphur, and the action of the same acid on the substances near the river. Beneath the bank I found deep strata of strongly impregnated bituminous shale, indicating the neighborhood of coal. The shale was sometimes connected with iron pyrites.

I recrossed the river at Fort Defiance, and proceeded down the left bank of it. At night I slept near the margin of the river, and, at mid-day of the 14th, reached Fort Meigs, having for the last two days passed a country which, for beauty and fertility, I have never known surpassed in a similar parallel of latitude. It is destined soon to become the seat of wealth and

population, and as we have a right to believe, of morals and refinement. The nation is not aware of the augmentation of its resources by the late treaty, which has extinguished the Indian title to this delightful district.

Leaving Fort Meigs, I arrived on the 16th of October, at Detroit. After a short stay there, I determined to travel through the province of Upper Canada, from Sandwich to Fort George. Accordingly I crossed the river Detroit on the afternoon of the 19th; and, after passing the Belle and Oriscon rivers, reached the banks of the river Thames, at mid-day of the 20th. On arriving at this stream, I exchanged a meagre settlement of Canadians for one of better character, composed of emigrants from our own country, who have occupied their present seats since the war of the Revolution.

I rode on the bank of this river for the distance of seventy miles, and found it to run through a level, fertile country, with a gentle current, and without any impediment. I then lost sight of it, but not before I had examined and passed the spot made celebrated by Gen. Harrison's victory. The next twenty-four miles were of swamp and barren woods, without a single hut. They led past the well-chosen ground of the action of the gallant Major Holmes. At the end of this distance I met the Thames again, of the same width and current as the parts I had left below. I remained in sight of the river for forty miles farther when it became narrow, and was bordered by a noble growth of pine. From the upper part of the Thames, I traveled about thirty miles to the Grand river, leaving which, I passed a poorer country, but shortly afterwards found myself on fertile and very elevated ground, without any apparent ascent from the westward. Leaving the village of Ancaster, I remained on this eminence until reaching a place called Ferrysburgh, when it ended in an abrupt descent; having passed which, I assumed an easterly direction and reached Fort George on the 26th of October.

I found the province of Upper Canada to possess more resources than I had ascribed to it. In soil, climate, and the

easy acquisition of the means of life, it yields to no northern part of our own country. But there is withal an air of inefficiency, a pause after surmounting the necessities of life—the natural result of institutions which neither excite nor satisfy the passions. There are no villages, and the population scattered, so as to detract much from its physical resources. It possesses no means of defence, excepting the facility of communication. The country is level, without fastnesses, and so intersected by rivers, that a force once in possession may communicate its energy to its remotest dependency. But that force once foiled has no means of repairing itself. The first victory of an invading army would transfer to the conqueror all that had belonged to the conquered, and thus preclude the means of further resistence. The facilities of the interior have superseded the necessity of Lake Erie as a means of communication. From York to the river Detroit, the land conveyance need not be more than forty miles, and from the same place to Lake Huron, by Lake Simcoe, a less distance.

From Fort George I crossed to Fort Niagara, from whence I embarked, and, by a short passage across Lake Ontario, had the pleasure to rejoin you at Brownville, after an absence of three months. The lapse of this period had carried me to remote and unfrequented parts, and developed new and interesting relations of my country. The inconvenience and privations of the undertaking were of little moment, in comparison to the means it afforded of future thought; but among the sources of the most grateful recollection are the interest you embarked in the causes of my absence, the anxiety with which your kindness awaited my return, and the warmth with which you welcomed it. With the most devoted regard,

I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Samuel A. Storrow.

Journal of a Voyage from St. Louis to the Falls of St. Anthony, in 1819

By Thomas Forsyth*

Having received instructions from the Department of War, to ship on board a steamboat destined to transport provisions, etc., for an establishment to be made at the mouth of St.

* Maj. Thomas Forsyth was born in Detroit, Dec. 5, 1771. His father, Wm. Forsyth, was from Blackwater town, Ireland; the family was originally Scotch, and Presbyterians. Wm. Forsyth migrated to New York about 1750, and was under Gen. Wolfe at the capture of Quebec in 1759, and was twice wounded in the conflict, and was subsequently stationed in Detroit. On the expiration of his term of service, he settled there, and married the widow Kinzie, grandmother of the late John H. Kinzie, of Chicago. He long kept a tavern, and engaged in trading; and during the Revolution, sympathising with the Americans, he was for a long time imprisoned, with James Abbot, but finally liberated. He died at Detroit about 1790, leaving several children—among them the subject of this sketch, the writer of the Journal herewith for the first time published. Thomas Forsyth engaged while yet young in the Indian trade, and spent several winters on Saginaw Bay, and, as early as 1798, wintered on an island in the Mississippi, four or five miles below Quincy, near the mouth of the Fabius. His first partner in trading was one Richardson, and then his step-son, John Kinzie, and Robert Forsyth; and about 1802, they established a trading post at Chicago. About 1804, he was united in marriage to Miss Keziah Malotte, near Malden, and subsequently settled as a trader at Peoria. Maj. Forsyth, in his Journal, speaks with honest indignation against the capture of himself, family and the French people of Peoria, in 1812, by Capt. Craig. Gov. Reynolds, in his *Life and Times*, thus refers to the affair, in connection with Gov. Edwards' campaign, on which he served as a private:

"While the army was in the neighborhood of the old village of Peoria, Capt. Craig had his boat lying in Peoria Lake, adjacent to the village. The boat was fortified so that the fire of the enemy could not penetrate it. Craig was attacked on several occasions by the Indians, but received no damage. He anchored his boat out in the Lake, and was secure from danger. The Captain supposing the few inhabitants of Peoria favored the Indians, burnt the village—this was considered by every one a useless act.

"Thomas Forsyth, Esq., was in the village at the time, acting as Indian Agent, appointed by the Government; but Craig, and none others, knew it, except at Washington City. It was supposed by the President that Mr. Forsyth would be more serviceable, to both sides, if his old friends, the Indians, did not know his situation. He acted the honorable part to ameliorate the horrors of war on both sides, and risked his life often amongst the Indians, to obtain from the enemy some of the prisoners who had been captured at the massacre of Chicago. In the rage of Capt. Craig, he placed the inhabitants of Peoria, all he could capture, on board his boat, and landed them on the bank of the river, below Alton. These poor French were in a starving condition, as they were turned away from their homes, and left their stock and provisions. They were landed in the woods—men, women and children, without shelter or food."

After the war, Maj. Forsyth was many years Indian Agent for the Sauks and Foxes; and had he been continued over them, it is believed, the Sauk war of 1832 would never have occurred. He died at St. Louis, Oct. 29, 1833, in the sixty-second year of his age, his wife having four years preceded him to the grave. They had three sons and one daughter; only the second child, Col. Robert Forsyth, survives, on his fine farm near St. Louis. From him the Journal now published, and many important documents concerning the Sauks and Foxes which will hereafter appear in our *Collections*, were obtained. Maj. Thomas Forsyth, in his long connection with Indian affairs, and by his writings on the history of Indian tribes of the North West, rendered his country important service. L. C. D.

Peter's river, a certain quantity of goods, say $2,000 worth, to be delivered by me to the Sioux Indians residing on the Mississippi above Prairie du Chien, and those who reside on the lower part of river St. Peter's, in payment of lands ceded by the Sioux Indians to the late Gen. Pike for the United States. The owners of the steamboats, finding it was impracticable to navigate such craft on the upper parts of the Mississippi river, changed their plans, and commenced transporting the provisions in keel-boats. Finding that no steamboats could get up the different rapids, and that the contractor had commenced to employ keels, I hired a boat and crew, bought provisions, and was ready by the third of June, but some of my men having received some money in advance, they thought proper to go out of the way, by which means I was detained until the seventh, when I got a crew together, and sent them out of town to be prepared for next morning.

Tuesday, 8th June. About sunset I hoisted sail, and had a fine breeze all day; found the water uncommonly high for the season, the current strong, yet we made an excellent day's journey, having come 27 miles.

Wednesday, 9th. Called at Portage des Sioux to enquire of Mr. Le Claire if he had heard from A. B.*; breakfasted with him and proceeded on, encamped about three miles above mouth of Illinois river; distance to-day 18 miles.

Thursday, 10th. Met six discharged soldiers from the Rifle Regiment at Prairie du Chien, descending the Mississippi in a canoe; wind fair but light; encamped at sundown above Cap au Gre; distance to-day 30 miles.

Friday, 11th. Set out early this morning with a fair wind; it soon came around ahead; we encamped within 15 miles of Clarksville; distance to-day 24 miles.

Saturday, 12th. The water continues high, and current strong; no bottom for poles in places; arrived at Clarksville in the afternoon; remained there all night. Came to-day fifteen miles.

Sunday, 13th. Mr. Brown embarked on board to go up to

* Probably the Mr. Brown who joined the party on the 13th. L. C. D.

Fort Edwards; wind fair; saw several lodges of Indians at Louisianaville; some followed us and came on board, insisted on getting some liquor, they being already half drunk. Distance to-day thirty-six miles.

Monday, 14th. Visited Hannibal in passing; a fair wind sprung up. Pleasant in the forenoon; thunder, with rain in the afternoon. Stopped at Two Rivers. Saw some Iowas; got some venison from them. Encamped at Wa-con-daw Prairie. Distance to-day thirty-six miles.

Tuesday, 15th. Thunder and rain; wind, fair occasionally, but light. Encamped within nine miles of Fort Edwards; came about forty miles to-day.

Wednesday, 16th. Arrived at Fort Edwards. Delivered several articles to Mr. Bett and others, brought up from St. Louis for them; stayed there about three hours, and was much disappointed in not being a magistrate, there being a couple very anxious of being married. I really pitied their case. Some Sacs and Iowa Indians have planted corn near the Fort where they reside, and they go occasionally down to the settlements, bring up whisky, get drunk and insult those who reside in the fort. A few troops would be well stationed at this place, as it would keep the Indians in awe, and might be the occasion of preventing many accidents. Understood that many Sacs had gone to Detroit; encamped at sundown about the middle of the Rapids. Distance to-day eighteen miles.

Thursday, 17th. Set out early; met Madam Boilvin near upper end of Rapids; she is going down to St. Louis for her health. Wind fair part of the day; encamped opposite the Arrowstone Prairie. Thirty-two miles to-day.

Friday, 18th. Wind hard against us; made only 15 miles to-day.

Saturday, 19th. The waters apparently higher here than below; weather very warm; wind light but ahead; mosquitoes worse than I ever saw them. Made only 21 miles to-day; encamped above the first Yellow Banks.

Sunday, 20th. Weather still very warm; had the sail up and

down several times. Met Mr. Davenport's men returning home to St. Louis. Met the Black Thunder and some followers, all Foxes, going down to St. Louis in three canoes; they immediately returned when they met me; encamped a little above the Iowa river; 18 miles was this day's progress.

Monday, 21st. We are off by time this morning; three Saukies overtook us on their way from hunting, bound up to their village on Rocky river; current strong to-day—made only 24 miles; encamped at upper end of Grand Mascoutin.

Tuesday, 22d. The men have been complaining of the length of the days. I told them that this was the longest day of the year, and of course every day afterwards would be shorter. They said they were glad to hear such good news, and wished to know how I knew this. Made 27 miles to-day.

Wednesday, 23d. Being detained yesterday awhile by a head wind, I was not able to reach Fort Armstrong, and one of the men still being sick retarded the progress of the boat; indeed a strong current to stem, a bad going boat, and one man sick, makes tedious work. I arrived at Fort Armstrong about 12 o'clock, and sent for the Fox and Sac chiefs to meet me next morning to receive their annuities.

Thursday, 24th. The chiefs of the Sacs and Foxes arrived this morning, and I delivered their annuities. I then informed them that the white man, who killed the Indians near Bear Creek last winter, was committed to jail for trial, yet I had no objection to make a present to the relatives of the deceased Indians. The chiefs were much pleased with all this. I then made a demand, of the chiefs, of the property said to be taken by the Big Eagle and other Indians of the Sac Nation, consisting of a trunk, with clothes and some money belonging to an officer of the army. This the chiefs denied, and said that if anything of the kind had happened they would be the first to acquaint me of it, and return any stolen property that might be among them. The Indian, named the Big Eagle, who was said to be wounded in the head in the affray, I saw, and am satisfied he was not wounded lately, as the day was warm,

and he had on no other covering than a blanket. Mr. Davenport informed me that he had seen a soldier, the only person with the officer, who said that the officer and himself, descending the Missouri in a canoe, were hailed by Indians on the shore; the Indians, not finding the officer and soldier making towards shore, put off after them; the whites put to shore, and the officer made off into the woods; the Indians came up, took the two guns belonging to the whites and fired them off, and motioned to the soldier to go after the officer; he did so, and when he returned, all that was in the canoe was gone, but could not say what Indians they were; and no affray took place from the best information I could collect. The Sacs must have left the Missouri previous to this affair. Towards evening the whole began to disperse, and what astonishd me much, not a soul asked for a dram, as I well knew there were many wet souls among them, particularly my old acquaintance Quash-qua-mie.

Friday, 25th. Early this morning two Indians, accompanied by the Lance* and Quash-qua-mie,† came to me and were

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* Sham-ga, or *The Lance* of the Missouri band of Sauks. L. C. D.

†Quash-qua-mie, or the *Jumping Fish*, was a chief of some note among the Sauks, of the Missouri band. He signed the treaty of 1804 at St. Louis, by which a large tract of country of the Sauks east of the Mississippi, comprehending about fifty millions of acres, were ceded to the United States. Black Hawk and others of the Rock River bands stoutly protested that the chiefs were drunk and knew not what they did, and the nation was not properly represented, and proved the origin of many difficulties, and probably of the alienation of the Rock river Sauks in the War of 1812.

A speech of Quash-qua-mie to Gen. Wm. Clark, the Indian Agent at St. Louis, in 1810, has been preserved:

"My father," said the chief. "I left my home to see my grandfather (the President of the United States); but as I cannot proceed to see him, I give you my hand as two himself, I have no father to whom I have paid any attention but yourself. If you hear anything, I hope you will let me know, and I will do the same. I have been advised several times to raise the tomahawk. Since the last war, we have looked upon the Americans as friends, and shall hold you fast by the hand. The Great Spirit has not put us on this earth to war with the whites; we have never struck a white man. If we go to war, it is with red flesh. Other nations sent belts among us, and urged us to go to war; they say, if we do not in less than eight years the Americans will encroach on us, and drive us off our lands.

"Since General Wayne's campaign the natives have often asked us to join in war with the white flesh; we have not listened to them; our rivers, our country, have always been and still are open to our friends, the Americans. I have spoken to you as should have spoken to the President of the United States; and as it is your desire that I should not proceed to see him, I will cheerfully return to my nation again, and hope you will send my word to him."

Quash-qua-mie's band aimed to remain neutral during the War of 1812-15; but it is probable that some of the young warriors got drawn into it. Quash-qua-mie signed the treaties at Portage Des Sioux, in September, 1815; that at Fort Armstrong, in September, 1822; and at Prairie du Chien, in August, 1825. The last charge of distributing rations to him by Maj. Forsyth, the Indian agent, was in 1829; and he died opposite Clarksville, Missouri, about the commencement of 1830. He evidently was not living in July of that year, when the treaty with his people was held at Prairie du Chien, as his name does not appear among the signatures. He is represented by those who knew him as not tall, but heavily formed; not intellectual, nor did he appear to possess any of the traits of a noble warrior. He was a great beggar, of little influence among his people, with a character not always free from tarnish. L. C. D.

pointed out by the latter as being the brothers of the Indian who was killed near Bear Creek last winter by S. Thompson, to whom I gave some goods, observing to them that those goods now lying before them were to cover their dead brother, and if they thought they could not forget the death of their brother, not to accept of the goods; if on the contrary, they accepted the goods, they must forever forget the injury, and not to say hereafter, "an American killed my brother." This they agreed to in presence of their chiefs, the Lance and Quash-qua-mie. Immediately embarked and set out; the old Lance came a few miles with me, and I gave the old man a few little things for his own family, for which he was very thankful. Several other canoes with Indians on board of them followed me a considerable distance, asking for everything they could think of. To each I had to give a little—they were principally Foxes; by which means I was much retarded, and as the Mississippi was rising, the current was very strong and the boatmen labored very hard, and at sundown I had got half way up the Rapids—distance 9 miles.

Saturday, 26th. We set out early and found the upper part of the Rapids very difficult to ascend. I stopped a while at the Little Fox village, 9 miles above the Rapids, gave them a few goods; they pressed me much for some whiskey, but I refused them, saying I did not mean to give any Indians any liquor, as it occasioned them to do mischief. Came to-day about 22 miles.

Sunday, 27th. Yesterday being the warmest day I had experienced since I left St. Louis, last night was equally bad for mosquitoes, for I did not sleep half an hour all night. We set out early this morning, and with the assistance of a side wind a few hours in the afternoon, we encamped at the lower end of Ground Apple Prairie—distance to-day, 24 miles.

Monday, 28th. I set out as usual early, but the water close along shore becoming too deep for the poles, the men had to pull along by the bushes, which was slow traveling; we made out, however, to come to-day eighteen miles, which

is well employing the time, considering the heavy gusts of rain we experienced almost all the forenoon.

Tuesday, 29th. Much rain fell last night and this morning. I had the sail hoisted, but the wind being quartering, assisted us but little, but gradually came round ahead; took in our sail, wind blew so hard ahead that we were compelled to put on shore, and lay by until late in the afternoon. Two men sick to-day, which makes the work come harder on the others. We came only twelve miles to-day.

Wednesday, 30th. The wind blowing hard down the river all night. I supposed it would fall by sunrise. In this I was mistaken, for the wind blew harder as the sun rose, yet we got a few miles to a safe shelter when we were completely windbound.

My interpreter, G. Lucie, has been upwards of twenty-five years from Canada, and has passed most of his time about the different lead mines and Prairie du Chien, but principally in the employ of a Mr. Dubuque, who died some years ago at what is called Dubuque mines. This man gives me the following information as to the number, situation and quality of all the lead mines lying between Apple Creek and Prairie du Chien, a distance of one hundred and odd miles, and I have every reason to believe this man, as he could have no view in telling me an untruth, as he is a simple, harmless creature. The first lead mine in ascending the Mississippi, is on the east side of that river, about fifteen miles on Apple Creek, on the right bank of said creek, and about a short mile from the edge; canoes only can ascend the creek to the mine. Good mineral is here to be found in great abundance from two to four feet below the surface of the earth. The second lead mine is at a place called the Red Head's village, about six miles above the Grand Macouttely, on the west side of the Mississippi, up a small creek on its left bank, about sixteen miles from its mouth; this mine, my informant says, was not productive, as the ore appeared to be incorporated with some other hard substance, probably silver, and required too much labor to extract the lead, and was soon abandoned.

The third lead mine is on the east side of the Mississippi, up Fever Creek about four miles, and lies on both sides of said creek; this, my informant says, is an excellent mine, for both quantity and quality. He also says that there are two kinds of lead to be found in those mines, one kind so soft as to be melted by any kind of dry twigs, while the other is harder to melt. The soft kind is to be found lying edgeways in flakes; the other in square substances, from two inches to two feet square. In high water, boats of ten or fifteen tons burthen may go up the creek within one and a half miles of the mines; in low water, a boat cannot get farther into the creek than two or three hundred yards.

The fourth lead mine is on both sides of a creek, called by the Indians Sa-se-ne-way-way-nong, and is four to five miles from the mouth of the creek. The ore is good, but no navigation up the creek except with small canoes. Distance above Fever Creek, on the same side of the Mississippi, six miles.

The fifth are Dubuque's mines—too well known to require any description.

The sixth lead mine is on Little Macouttely Creek, fifteen miles above Dubuque mines, on same or west side of Mississippi, about six miles up said creek, on the right bank. This mine is immediately on the water's edge. A boat may go up in high water nearly half way to the mines from the mouth of the creek.

The seventh lead mine lies on Mechant Hatche Creek, about six miles above Little Macouttely but on the east side of the Mississippi. This mine is about nine miles north of the creek, on its right bank. This creek is wide but flat, with many rapids; at some seasons of the year boats may go up it two or three miles.

There are many other lead mines on the Ouisconsin river, but my informant says he never was at any of them, and therefore cannot give any account of them. We made only twelve miles to-day, being wind-bound most of the time.

Thursday, 1st July. Arose early; appearance of a fine day.

About nine o'clock an air of wind ahead. Saw two Indians hunting turtle eggs on a small sandy island. The wind began to blow hard. Made out to get to Death's-Head Creek, where we waited three or four hours until the wind abated. Set out, and encamped within two miles of Dubuque's mines, having come to-day 28 miles, which is good work after losing much time from head winds. While laying at Death's-Head Creek, a Fox Indian came to my boat, and told me two boats lashed together had passed down the river last night. I suppose these must be the contractor's boats returning from Prairie du Chien, and going down to St. Louis.

Friday, 2d. I set out early, in hopes of having a calm day; wind ahead almost all day, with a strong current. Met four discharged soldiers, from Prairie du Chien, going down to St. Louis in a skiff. They enquired how far it was to the mines. Told them 10 to 12 miles. They said they had left Prairie du Chien yesterday, and that the 5th regiment arrived there on Wednesday from Green Bay.

Saturday, 3d. The Mississippi continues to be very high. Our progress was much impeded to-day, owing to the men not being able to find the bottom with their poles. Encamped about three miles above Turkey river. Distance to-day 24 miles, which was a good day's journey, as I was detained about an hour at the Fox village giving the Indians some presents.

Sunday, 4th. Yesterday evening I saw a comet similar to the one of 1811. It appeared to me to be in the same quarter, N. N. W. The sight of this comet brought to my memory the disasters that befell many the following year, myself being one among the many. Never shall I forget the disasters of the poor and unfortunate people of Peoria, a small village of French, on the Illinois river. After their property was taken by the Indians, and a banditti of ruffians from Shawanoe town under the command of Captain Thomas E. Craig, we were taken down (as malefactors) prisoners, and set adrift on the shore of the Mississippi, at Savage's ferry. Many poor unfortunates, with wives and three and four children,

had not a blanket to cover them, nor a second change to their back. Many of their kettles and pots were seen among Craig's men, yet they would not give them up. A fellow by the name of Hitchcock, with two or three other armed men, went into a house, which was in charge of an old man of upwards of fifty years of age, and took away a quantity of sugar. Indeed, I could fill pages with the atrocities committed by this banditti at Peoria.

I set out this morning with a view, if possible, to reach Prairie du Chien, but having no wind in our favor, and current strong, we could get no farther than the mouth of the Ouisconsin. Distance to-day 24 miles.

Monday, 5th. I arrived to-day about nine o'clock A. M., at Prairie du Chien, and immediately the wind sprang up and blew a fresh breeze. This was vexing, as I had experienced five days of head winds successively. I found here waiting my arrival, the Red Wing's son, a Sioux Indian, who wished to be considered something, with a band of followers. He invited me to a talk, and after relating the loss of one of his young men who was killed by the Chippewas, he expressed a wish that I would take pity on all present, and give them some goods. All this was a begging speech. I told him that I meant to go up with the troops to the river St. Peter's, and on my way up I would stop at their different villages where I would speak to them, and give them a few goods. Here I had nothing to say, as I could not give any goods at this place, because it required goods to give weight to words, and make them understand me well. Yet he is such a beggar, that he would not take any refusal. I got up in an abrupt manner and left him and band, to study awhile. The Leaf, the principal chief of the Sioux, arrived this evening.

Tuesday, 6th. The Kettle chief, with a band of Foxes, arrived here to-day, to make arrangements with Mr. Partney about selling him the ashes at the different mines. A boat belonging to the contractor, arrived to-day, loaded with provisions for the troops, in 25 days from Wood river.

Wednesday, 7th. The contractor's boat left this day, to return to Wood river.

Thursday, 8th. A young Folle Avoine stabbed a young Sioux in a fit of jealousy to-day, near the fort. He was in liquor.

Friday, 9th. The Sioux Indians yesterday seized on the Folle Avoine Indian who had stabbed the young Sioux, and kept him in confinement, well tied and guarded by a few young Sioux; but the Sioux chiefs sent for the Folle Avoine, and made him a present of a blanket and some other articles of clothing, and made him and the young Sioux whom he had stabbed, eat out of the same dish together, thus forgiving and forgetting the past.

Sunday, 11th. Every day since my arrival at this place, the wind has blown up the river; to-day it came around south and with rain—wind settled at northwest.

Monday, 12th. The Red Wing's son is still here a begging. He invited me to talk with him in council yesterday. This I refused, as I did not wish to be troubled with such a fellow.

Tuesday, 13th. Much rain this morning; wind southwest.

Wednesday, 14th. Some Winnebagoes arrived from headwaters of Rocky river and Portage of Ouisconsin. These fellows are scientific beggars. Wind north.

Thursday, 15th. Yesterday evening the Red Wing's son's band of Sioux Indians set out for their homes, and I am glad of it, for they are a troublesome set of beggars. The wind blows hard from the north to-day, which makes it much cooler than it has been for many days before.

Friday, 16th. The wind continues to blow hard from the north, and the weather is still cool. Two men arrived this evening from Green Bay in a canoe.

Saturday, 17th. Mr. Boutillier arrived here to-day from Green Bay. Mr. Shaw* also arrived here to-day from St.

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* Col. John Shaw, whose Narrative may be found in the 2d vol. of *Wis. Hist. Collections*, and who died at St. Marie, Wis., Aug. 31, 1871, in his 89th year. He was never married, and his life was one of much activity and romantic interest.
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Louis in a canoe, having left his horses at Rocky Island. He informs me that he left Bell Fontaine on the 15th ult.; that the recruits destined for Mississippi set out on the day before and may be expected shortly.

Sunday, 18th. Took a ride out in the country. Found some of the situations handsome, but the farmers are poor hands at cultivation. Flour, $10 per cwt.; corn, $3 per bushel; eggs, $1 per doz; chickens, $1 to $1.25 a couple. Butter, none made.

Monday, 19th. A little rain, and cool all day. Mr. Shaw left to-day to return home.

Tuesday, 20th. A little rain to-day.

Wednesday, 21st. Winds fair for boats coming up the river, and little rain to-day.

Thursday, 22d. A fine wind up the river to-day, with much rain. The old Red Wing, a Sioux chief, with about twenty of his followers, arrived to-day. This is another begging expedition.

Friday, 23d. The wind still up the river, with some rain. The old Red Wing and I had a long talk, and as I supposed, the whole purport was begging.

Saturday, 24th. Having heard much talk about Carver's claim to land at or near St. Peter's river, and understanding that the Red Wing knew or said something about it last year; curiosity led me to make enquiries of him, having now an opportunity. He told me he remembered of hearing his father say, that lands lying on the east side of Lake Pepin, known by the name of the old wintering places, were given to an Englishman; that he is now an old man (about sixty years of age), and does not himself remember the transactions. I wished to continue the conversation, but the old man did not like it, and therefore I did not press it.

Sunday, 25th. Wind north, and a warm day.

Monday, 26th. Captain Hickman and family left this place to-day in an open boat for St. Louis. Wind north, and another warm day.

Tuesday, 27th. Another warm day. No news of any kind.

Wednesday, 28th. A boat arrived here from Green Bay.

Thursday, 29th. This is the warmest day I have experienced this season, although there blew a hard wind up the river all day.

Friday, 30th. Yesterday evening the war party of Foxes, who had been on the hunt for some of the Sioux of the interior, returned without finding any. Much wind and rain this morning. I returned Mr. Moore three dollars, which Mr. Aird gave me last September, to buy him some articles, which could not be procured.

Saturday, 31st. Wind light up the river; no boats, no recruits, no news, nor anything else from St. Louis.

Sunday, August 1. Major Marston set out to-day early with twenty-seven troops in three boats to garrison Fort Armstrong at Rocky Island. The boat which brought the sutler's goods from Green Bay a few days since, set out to-day to return home. Some rain to-day; weather warm.

Monday, 2d. Thank God a boat loaded with ordnance and stores of different kinds arrived to-day, and said a provision boat would arrive to-morrow, but no news of the recruits.

Tuesday, 3d. Weather warm with some rain.

Wednesday, 4th. This morning the provision boat arrived. No news from St. Louis. This boat brings news of having passed a boat with troops on board destined for this place. Some of the men say two boats. Some rain to-day.

Thursday, 5th. Much rain last night. Colonel Leavenworth is determined to set out on the 7th, if things can be got ready for the expedition to St. Peters. The Colonel has very properly, in my opinion, engaged the two large boats now here, with as many of the men belonging to the boats as will remain to accompany the expedition, their contents being wanted for the new establishment at St. Peters. Without the assistance of these two boats, it would appear impossible for the expedition to go on.

Friday, 6th. Yesterday evening some Frenchmen who

would not agree to go any farther up the Mississippi, set out for St Louis in a bark canoe. This morning, eight discharged soldiers set out from this place for St. Louis in a skiff.

Saturday, 7th. Every exertion was made to get off to-day; but impossible. A fine wind up the river.

Sunday, 8th. This morning the Colonel told me that he would be ready in an hour, and about eight o'clock we set out for river St. Peter's. The troops, consisting of 98 rank and file, in fourteen batteaux and two large boats, loaded with provisions and ordnance, and stores of different kinds, as also my boat and a barge belonging to the Colonel, making seventeen boats; and in the whole, 98 soldiers and about 20 boatmen. I felt myself quite relieved when we got under way. We made to-day 18 miles.

Monday, 9th. Set out early. A thick fog; it cleared away and a fair wind sprung up, when at times we made great headway. We this day found the body of A. Aunger, and buried it. We encamped a little below Iowa river, having come to-day 35 miles.

Tuesday, 10th. This day we set out late, and stopped some time with the Bourgne, or One-Eyed Sioux,* and his follow-

* His Indian name was Tahmie, his French name L'Original Leve, and his English, The Rising Moose; though often called Tah-mah-haw, and sometimes the "Old Priest," as he was a great talker on all occasions. He figured in the treaty between the Sioux and Lieut. Z. M. Pike, in Sept., 1805. He was long remarkable among the Sioux, and it was his greatest pride and boast, that he was the only American in his tribe, all the rest siding with the British in the War of 1812. One other Sioux, Hay-pee-dan, of Wakoty's band, also sided with the Americans. When, in 1814, Capt. Yeiser's gun-boat descended the Mississippi to St. Louis, after the surrender of Prairie du Chien this friendly One-Eyed Sioux was on board, and behaved most gallantly when the boat was attacked by British artillery. Gen. Wm. Clark, the General Agent for the Northwestern Indians, gave him in 1814, a commission as a chief of the Red Wing band of Sioux, which was originally a part of Wabashaw's band. In the fall of that year, the One-Eyed Sioux and Hay-pee-dan, ascended the Missouri under the protection of the well-known trader Manuel Lisa, as far as the Au Jacques river, whence these two Indian emissaries struck across the country, and at length arrived at Prairie du Chien, when Col. Robert Dickson, the great British leader, accosted the One-Eyed Sioux as to where he came from, and what was his business in visiting Prairie du Chien, rudely pulling his bundle from his back, and examining it for letters. He frankly replied that he had come from St. Louis and had promised the white chiefs there that he would go to Prairie du Chien, and that he had kept his promise. Dickson then placed him in confinement for further examination, threatening him with death; but the faithful chief would divulge no information, and said he was ready for death if they chose to kill him. He was thrown into a dungeon and confined there a considerable time; but finding him unyielding, they at length liberated him and sent him away. He set out in the depth of winter and visited the different bands of the Sioux, using every influence to detach them from the British interest, and again arrived at Prairie du Chien, and found that Dickson had departed for Mackinaw on the opening of navigation. He remained there sometime, and witnessed the evacuation of the fort by the British, who left behind them the cannon, but returned a night or two afterwards, and took the guns away, and fired the fort. This brave fellow went into the burning fort, and brought off the American flag and an American medal, and repaired to Gov. Clark and St. Louis, with the intelligence of the departure of the British. The One-eyed-Sioux was still alive as late as 1854.—*See Missouri Gazette*, June 17, 1815, and Neill's *Minnesota*.

ers who had come from their village on the Iowa river, and placed themselves on the banks of the Mississippi to be in readiness to receive anything we might have to give them. I gave them a little powder and milk,† they agreeing with me that it was better to give the blankets, etc., to the Indians above, as they were most in want. We encamped opposite Raccoon Creek. Distance to-day twenty-two miles; we were assisted by the wind to-day.

Wednesday, 11th. We set out early this morning, but lost some time at breakfast, and we also lost the wind, as it fell. Some rain to-day. Encamped about three miles above Bandy Prairie. Distance to-day eighteen miles.

Thursday, 12th. The wind ahead. The large boats detained us much to-day, yet we made twenty-one miles, and encamped six miles below *La Montaine qui trempe a l'eau.*

Friday, 13th. We set out early. The Mississippi begins to become more shallow. The provision boat occasions much trouble to-day, owing to her being very heavily laden. We made the Leaf's village this evening, a distance of only twelve miles. On my arrival to-day, I had a talk with the Leaf. I told him that the President of the United States had sent me to acquaint the Sioux Indians that these troops which he saw encamped on that island, were sent up to build a fort at the mouth of river St. Peter's; that he must not think that anything bad was intended; that a fort at St. Peter's would answer two purposes for the Sioux—first, it would be a place that any little thing they might want repaired by the blacksmith would be done for them, and also be a place of trade; secondly, their enemies would not be allowed to injure any of the Sioux Indians at or near the fort, but at the same time the Sioux must not injure any Chippewas that might visit the fort; that if their Great Father, the President, meant them any harm, he would not send a man of my years, having so many gray hairs in his head as I have, to do anything but what was good. Here (pointing to Col. Leavenworth) is the chief of the soldiers belonging to your Great Father; should, at any time, any of

† Whisky.

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his young men do anything wrong, complain to him. He will render you every justice in his power, and both him and myself will expect that if any of your young men should do what is not right, you, as the head chief, will render justice equally in the same way when the Colonel complains to you.

The river Mississippi is free as much so for you as for any other Indians, and I hope all boats or craft of any kind belonging to white people, or any white people travelling by land through your country, will not be molested, but allowed to pass and repass as they may think proper.

You must remember that all the white people on the other side of the great waters are now at peace, and your Great Father, the President of the United States, is also at peace with all the world. Yet he is prepared for war. He has many soldiers, and at one blow from his whistle he can get as many more soldiers as he wants. He has many vessels on the great waters, and every year is building more. He don't wish for war, and is not the first to begin, but will not lay still and allow his young men to be killed without revenging them. You may suppose the President has not forgot your assisting the British in the last war; but in this you are wrong if you think so. You have made a treaty of peace with your Great Father, and everything is over; but beware of the bad birds that come from that northern quarter. When they tell you, or want to tell you anything that you think is bad, put your fingers in your ears. I could talk to you all day, and all night too, on this subject, but it would be telling you things that you know as well as I do. I have only to say, that I have put you in the straight path, and if you leave it, or make it crooked, it will not be my fault. Remember well what I have this day told you, and all news that I may hear that relates to you, I will always make you acquainted with. Here is a blanket, a pipe of tobacco, and some powder. It is but little, but you well know that I have many children to see before I return home, and I must give every one a little.

He accepted of the presents with thanks, and, after sun-

down, he came aboard of my boat to visit me, and conversed on many subjects. This man is no beggar, nor does he drink, and perhaps I may say he is the only man in the Sioux nation of this description.

Saturday, 14th. All the boats set out early this morning. As each boat passed the village, they returned the salute of yesterday. The channel of the river is becoming more difficult, and the large boats were much impeded to-day. Although we had a fair wind part of the day, we only came twelve miles, and encamped on an island near the Tumbling Rock.

Sunday, 15th. A head wind to-day, and being detained by the provision boat, encamped a mile above Driftwood river, a distance of ten miles.

Monday, 16th. Set out early. Great appearance of wind. Hoisted sail; but of little use. Encamped at the Grand Encampment, having come to-day twenty miles.

Tuesday, 17th. We set out in a great fog, and made the lower end of Lake Pepin, a distance only of nine miles. We encamped early for two reasons; first, because we had not time to cross the lake; secondly, because the soldiers had to draw provisions and wash their dirty linen.

Wednesday, 18th. This day was calm and warm. We crossed Lake Pepin with ease, and encamped about two miles below the Red Wing's village. Distance to-day, twenty-two miles.

Thursday, 19th. We set out early this morning. Had a little talk with the Red Wing at his village. Gave him some goods. He was much pleased with his present. His son is exactly what I took him to be—a trifling, begging, discontented fellow. The weather was very warm to-day; not a breath of air stirring, and one of my men sick, yet we made out to come twenty-four miles, and encamped at the mouth of the river St. Croix. This is a large river, and I am told heads near to Lake Superior.

Friday, 20th. We set out this morning in a calm. About

12 o'clock the wind blew up fair but light, yet the air was much refreshed. We encamped this evening at Medicine Wood, a distance of twenty-four miles. The big boats did not get up until after sundown. Medicine Wood takes its name from a large beech tree, which kind of wood the Sioux are not acquainted with, and supposing that the Great Spirit has placed it there as a genii to protect or punish them according to their merits or demerits.

Saturday, 21st. Again we were early under way this morning. The day was rainy, and the wind nearly, and in some places quite, ahead, yet the Colonel in his barge, and I in my boat, made out to get to Little Crow's village, about four o'clock in the afternoon, a distance of twenty-one miles. We had a talk with Little Crow. His independent manner, I like. I made him a very handsome present, for which he was very thankful, and said it was more than he expected.

Sunday, 22d. Yesterday evening the Colonel descended to his camp, and said he would be up with the expedition early this morning; but a very hard wind ahead prevented the boats from being able to stem the current, and continued so all day. I was anxious to go on, as we were only fifteen miles from St. Peter's.

Monday, 23d. All the boats got up by 8 o'clock, and after breakfast we set out, and I pushed on by myself, and arrived at the mouth of St. Peter's about four o'clock in the afternoon. This is the second day I have been unwell.

Tuesday, 24th. This morning Col. Leavenworth arrived in his barge, and was busily employed almost all day in finding a proper place to make an establishment. He at length pitched on a place immediately at the mouth of St. Peter's river, on its right bank, where, on the arrival of the soldiers, they were immediately set to work in making roads up the bank of the river, cutting down trees, etc. I have been very ill to-day.

Wednesday, 25th. Yesterday evening Pinichon and the White Bustard arrived with many followers, and wished

me to go to work immediately; but it being late, and I being very unwell, I put business off until to-day, when after a long talk I gave them a very handsome present, and they returned home apparently satisfied.

Thursday, 26th. Yesterday evening three chiefs arrived with many followers, viz: The Six, whose village is thirty miles up the river St. Peter's; the Arrow, twenty-four miles still higher, and the Killiew (thus named from a species of eagle) whose village is six miles still higher. They wished to go about business immediately; but it was too late. This morning we met and had some talk, but I by no means liked the countenance of Mr. Six, nor did I like his talk; I gave them the remainder of my goods, yet the Six wanted more. Not having any more, they had to do without. I found on enquiring that Mr. Six is a good-for-nothing fellow, and rather gives bad counsel to his young men than otherwise. In all my talks with those Indians, I generally told them the same I told the Leaf; and in all cases I had to give each band a little whisky. These are the last Indians I am to see in this quarter; therefore, I am done with the Sioux for this year.

Friday, 27th. Much rain last night, and very blustering to-day, which prevents my going up to visit the Falls, being a distance of nine miles.

Saturday, 28th. I set out early this morning, accompanied by Col. Leavenworth, Major Vose, Dr. Purcell, Lt. Clark and Mrs. Gooding, to visit the Falls of St. Anthony. My boat being strong manned, we made good headway, but the more we approached the Falls, the stronger the rapids became. I left the boat with one man to guard it, and we set out by land, having only a distance of one mile to walk to the Falls. In going out of a thick woods into a small prairie, we had a full view of the Falls from one side to the other, a distance of about four or five hundred yards. The sight to me was beautiful; the white sheet of water falling perpendicularly, as I should suppose, about twenty feet—but Gen. Pike says he measured and found it sixteen and a half feet—over the differ-

ent precipices; in other parts, rolls of water, at different distances, falling like so many silver cords, while about the island large bodies of water were rushing through great blocks of rocks, tumbling every way, as if determined to make war against anything that dared to approach them. All this was astonishing to me who never saw the like before. After viewing the Falls from the prairie for some time, we approached nearer, and by the time we got up to the Falls, the noise of the falling water appeared to me to be awful. I sat down on the bank and feasted my eyes, for a considerable time, in viewing the falling waters, and the rushing of large torrents through and among the broken and large blocks of rocks, thrown in every direction by some great convulsion of nature. Several of the company crossed over to the Island above the Falls, the water being shallow. The company having returned from the island, they told me that they had attempted to cross over the channel on the other side of the island, but the water was too deep, and they say the greatest quantity of water descends on the other or northeast side of the island. We proceeded to the boat and embarked and was down at the encampment at sundown.

Sunday, 29th. I this day accompanied Col. Leavenworth in his barge up the St. Peter's river to the White Bustard and Pinichon's villages—a distance to the first village of four miles, and to the second village two miles higher, at which the Colonel enquired if any horses were for sale. These Indians, however, having few horses, had none to dispose of.

Monday, 30th. Having fully finished my business, and the Indians preparing to go off to their hunting places, I set out to return home. I left the encampment about ten o'clock, and made Medicine Wood against a hard head wind.

Tuesday, 31st. The wind is still ahead, yet we worked down, and came to anchor after sundown, at the upper end of Lake Pepin.

Wednesday, Sept. 1st. This morning very early we heard the report of a cannon on the other side of an island. The

Colonel, who was on board of my boat, said, those must be the expected recruits. We immediately weighed anchor, and ascended to the upper part of the island, to get into the other channel, and to be ahead of the boats. We accordingly met two large boats and a batteau with 120 recruits on board, bound to river St. Peter's. The Colonel having business with the officers, we were detained about two hours, and also, to aggravate us the more, the wind was ahead, a very bad circumstance for us to cross Lake Pepin. With much difficulty, we made the little Point au Sable, where I came to in a good harbor, with an expectation that the wind would fall towards evening; but, on the contrary, the wind raised and blew hard all night. I was very uneasy and did not sleep all night. After daylight I laid down, and gave orders to the patroon, that as soon as the wind should fall sufficiently, to set out and make the best of our way.

Thursday, 2d. I awoke about 8 o'clock this morning, and found the boat under way. After doubling the great Point au Sable, we worked well to the windward shore, and then hoisted sail. The wind was on our beam, and blew fresh. We stretched across the lake, which was very boisterous, and we shipped some water, yet we held our own as to the lee way, and went on at an amazing rate, and the wind served us almost all day, and found ourselves at sundown at the upper end of Wing Prairie where we stopped to cook some provisions, having come to-day, sixty miles. We set out as soon as our provisions were cooked, and the men rowed a considerable distance down and then let the boat drive with the current all night. The river is now higher than when we ascended.

Friday, 3d. Between rowing and drifting last night, we came nine miles, and from daylight to sundown to-day we came sixty miles more. Met Mr. Robertson to-day ascending the river to winter in river St. Peter's. This has been a calm day.

Saturday, 4th. The current is strong in this part of the Mississippi, and by keeping in the middle of the channel we drifted about twelve miles, when a gust compelled us to put on

shore for the remainder of the night; but as soon as daylight appeared this morning, we set out with a head wind. We met Mr. Moore, who returned back with us, having forgotten some papers, and we arrived at Prairie du Chien about three o'clock in the afternoon.

Sunday, 5th. Mr. Moore set out to-day in a canoe to rejoin his boat, which he had left yesterday when he met us. He is going up to winter among the Yanktons in St. Peter's river.

Monday, 6th. A warm day. I was much astonished to meet my old friend, G. E., here on my arrival on Saturday last. He gave me a history of his ups and downs since we parted, about seventeen years ago. Poor fellow, he has experienced such days as required much fortitude to support. During the late war he rendered much service to the United States, and, like many good fellows, was poorly recompensed for his trouble. I wish him every success, because he is deserving of it. He is now engaged largely in the Indian trade. He has a wife and six children.

Tuesday, 7th. Much rain fell last night. The Mississippi has been rising for several days. This day about 11 o'clock I left Prairie du Chien for home. At sundown we had come twenty-seven miles. Stopped to cook near Turkey river.

Wednesday, 8th. Much rain again last night. A fine wind down the river to-day. What we drove last night, and what we made by sailing to-day, we came eighty-seven miles.

Thursday, 9th. We came during last night and to-day to the head of Rocky river rapids, being a distance of sixty-six miles.

Friday, 10th. We set out early; found the water in the rapids much troubled, and decently high for the season. Arrived at Fort Armstrong. Major M.* and Lieut. G. behaved very politely to me.

Saturday, 11th. I remained at Fort Armstrong until this morning, waiting for papers that were to be put in the post-office at St. Louis. Set out; much rain to-day, and wind sometimes ahead, yet we made out to come by sundown fifty-one miles.

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* Probably Major Marston.

L. C. D.

Sunday, 12th. We having got under way early this morning with a head wind, which continued hard all day; but we made the Flint Hills, therefore we came during last night and to-day forty-two miles.

Monday, 13th. We experienced a very heavy rain last evening, but it cleared up, and we pushed off. Found this morning we had drifted about fifteen miles. Last night we met a boat belonging to Col. McNair near the upper end of the river Des Moines rapids; several men sick; the boat was lying ashore three miles lower down. We saw another boat on shore on the east side of the Mississippi. We arrived in the evening at Fort Edwards, where stopped a couple of hours. We came to-day about thirty-three miles.

Tuesday, 14th. We set out from Fort Edwards yesterday evening after sundown to drive with the current; but the wind blew us on shore, where we remained all night. Set out early with quartern wind, we halted a little after sundown six miles below Saverton, having come to-day ninety-nine miles.

Wednesday, 15th. We drifted last night twenty-one miles. Met Mr. Belt a few miles above Clarksville. On my arrival there, found Mr. Pheling very unwell indeed, and am told that there had been many deaths at Louisianaville. The people all through this country are very sickly; at sundown we were six miles above Cap au Gre, having come last night and to-night seventy-two miles.

Thursday, 16th. Having drifted about twelve miles last night, and made some narrow escapes from sawyers at the head of Cap au Gre island, which gave me much uneasiness during the night, set out early with the intention of getting down to St. Louis, if possible, for which reason I would not stop at Portage des Sioux, and the men worked hard, but finding we could not arrive there until after sundown, I thought it prudent to camp above Isle au Cabare, not wishing to endanger the boat in the dark.

Friday, 17th. We arrived at St. Louis about 8 o'clock this morning, after an absence of three and a half months.

From the extreme heat of the summer I am much surprised that I and my men were not more sick than we were; for let any man who is accustomed to travelling in a boat on the Mississippi for three and a half months during a very warm summer, drinking very bad water, sleeping out in the dews to avoid being devoured by mosquitoes, and to get but little rest during the short nights, and say that such hardships are not sufficient to ruin the constitution of any man; and it must be people who have been bred to the like, who are able to withstand and overcome all such hardships. Col. Leavenworth set out from Prairie du Chien with 98 men; and on his arrival at the St. Peter's, upwards of one-half were sick. These men were only sixteen or seventeen days on the water; what then would have been the consequence, if they had been two or three months on the water? Perhaps there would not have been a sufficiency of well men to attend on the sick.

I had thought that the country above Prairie du Chien was equal at least to the country about the Prairie; but in this I was much mistaken, for instead of finding a fine country with good lands, and plenty of good timber, I found a mountainous, broken, rocky and sterile country, not fit for either man or beast to live in. I did not see either in going up to St. Peter's or coming down any one kind of wild animal—no, not even a squirrel. I saw but few ducks; it was not the season for them, it is true, but I had thought more might have been seen; wild pigeons were plenty; fish but few to be had from the Indians, although there are plenty to be caught, particularly in the rapids above St. Peter's. I cannot conceive what view Carver had in getting lands from the Indians in such an inhospitable region as he did, not that I mean to say his claim is good or bad by any means; but how a man could select such a country is beyond my penetration, except that it was to look like something great on paper among a people who might think the country there described was equal to their own in goodness and every thing else. I have never seen a copy of the deed from the Indians to Carver; but I am

informed that two signatures only are to the deed; one is a Snake, the other a Turtle; when shown to the Indians they objected to the Turtle, by saying they had no tribe of that description in their nation, and must be a fraud; or, if marked on the paper by an Indian, it must have been done by an Indian of another tribe, or out of a joke. One Indian only that I can find out, knows anything about this claim; he says that when a boy, he remembers to have heard his father say, that an Englishman came among the Sioux Indians, and asked for land, which was given him, and he promised to return next year with a large quantity of merchandise to give to the Sioux Indians, but that they never have seen this Englishman since. It appears to me to stand to reason, that a man who would promise to deliver 8,000 blankets as one article, as I am told the deed speaks for that enormous number,* would willingly promise any thing else.

The Sioux Indians were celebrated for their hospitality and goodness toward strangers, and more particularly towards the whites. Anything that a white man would ask them was granted, if it were possible to do so. They knew nothing about intrigue, and supposed that every person who came to their country was a friend. Father Hennepin, who was the first white man who ever visited the upper parts of the Mississippi, speaks of the Naudowissies (Sioux) as patterns to the civilized part of creation. Indeed, he speaks of them in raptures, as if they were really his own ancestors. Everything that a man could say of another set of men, Father Hennepin said of the Sioux; but I am sorry to say, that they are at the present day (1819) much altered. How this alteration has taken place, or what has occasioned it, can be attributed only to their too great intercourse with those whom we call civilized people; for I can now safely say, that whatever the Sioux might have been, they are now actually a poor, indolent, beggarly, drunken set of Indians and cowards. You can see nothing of the genuine Indian in them. You see nothing of

* By reference to the deed, it will be seen that Major Forsyth was mis-informed on this point.
L. C. D.

that Indian independence, or of that enterprising character as hunters or warriors, nor do you see a robust, stout, able-bodied people who may be found in more southern latitudes.

I mentioned to Little Crow, one of the principal chiefs of the Sioux Indians, the barbarous war that existed between them and the Chippewas, and if there was not a possibility of bringing about a peace between the two nations. He observed that a peace could easily be made, but said it is better for us to carry on the war in the way we do, than to make peace, because, he added, we lose a man or two in the course of a year, and we kill as many of the enemy during the same time; and if we were to make peace, the Chippewas would over-run all the country lying between the Mississippi and Lake Superior, and have their villages on the banks of the Mississippi itself. In this case we, the Sioux, would lose all our hunting grounds on the north-east side of the river; why then, said he, should we give up such an extensive country to another nation to save the lives of a man or two annually. I know, said he, it is not good to go to, or make war too much, or against too many people. But this is a war for land which must always exist if the Sioux Indians remain in the same opinion that now guides them. I found the Indian's reason so good, that I said no more on the subject to him.

To give an idea of their mode of carrying on war, I will here cite one instance of the cowardly disposition of the Sioux Indians. When I arrived at the Little Crow's village, he told me that a party of fifty of his young men had gone off to war five days before, and expected them back in a few days. After my arrival at the river St. Peter's, I was informed that the war party had got back, and reported that they fell in with two Chippewas, at whom the whole fifty fired at one time, killing one and wounding the other, who got behind a tree, and there the fifty Sioux left him. Thus, you see, the bravery of the Sioux.

Much has been written, and much more has been said about the different customs and manners of the Indians, and a man well acquainted with them might write volumes respecting the

Indians, and many people would think them fabulous; but let any man go and live with the Indians, and he will find that they follow the old Jewish customs and manners. They may, in some things, differ from the Jewish customs, but not materially. Those Indians who have had less intercourse with the whites, their customs and manners, come nearest the Jewish customs. It is very well known that Indians who never saw white people, all agree that there is a Good and Evil Spirit; the former, they say, is too good to trouble himself about the poor mortals of the earth, but that the Evil Spirit is always waiting for an opportunity to injure them or to instigate them to do mischief.

To a stranger it would seem odd, that all the Indians are so much attached to the British Government; but to a man who is well acquainted with Indians, this can be easily accounted for. The British Government will not appoint any man to the place of Indian Agent, without he can speak some one of the Indian languages. In this case it is to be supposed, that he is acquainted with the manners and customs of the Indians. All the goods for the Indian trade are British goods; and as American traders are always for cheap articles, of course they are inferior. Poor goods are always regarded as of American manufacture. A man is appointed an agent in the interior of the Union, who perhaps never saw an Indian until he came to the agency. How, then, can it be supposed that a man who knows nothing about Indians, can do anything with them? Alas! it is in this way that treaties are made by men who do not know the Indian character, and promise fifty things to the Indians with a prior intention to put them off. It will not answer. If we follow the golden rule, to "do unto others as we would wish to be done by," we will soon see the good effects of such humane treatment; but as long as we continue to pursue our present ignorant system of Indian affairs, we will always be in the dark, and the hatred of the Indian race will be handed down to successive generations. What an alteration would we perceive in the Indians if they were

treated according to the old Penn system of former times. The followers of George Fox and William Penn could do much for the poor aborigines, and if they were on our frontiers, instead of the present race of beings, much good would result to the whites as well as to the Indians.

Maj. Thomas Forsyth to Gov. William Clark*

St. Louis, Sept. 23, 1819.

Sometime in the month of May last, I was informed that the 5th Regiment of Infantry was ordered from Detroit by way of Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, to build a fort at the mouth of St. Peter's river, and I was also told that Col. Atkinson had been enquiring if I had set out for Prairie du Chien, saying I would be late if I did not soon do so. I immediately made the necessary arrangements and left this place to ascend the Mississippi the beginning of June, and took and delivered to the Sauks and Foxes at Fort Armstrong their annuities for 1818; a receipted invoice of these goods I have forwarded to the Superintendent of Indian Trade, as by your direction.

After I had delivered the goods, I demanded of the Sauk chiefs the trunk containing the clothes and money, said to have been taken from an officer by a Sauk Indian named the Big Eagle, and others of the same nation, last spring, on the Missouri river; and in the affray it was said that the Big Eagle was wounded in the head. I can assure you, that this chief had not been wounded when I saw him in June last, and from the best information I could collect, the Sauks must have left the Missouri river, previous to the time the officer was said to have been robbed. A soldier, the only person who was with the officer when this affair happened, tells a very different story to what was told you. The Sauk chiefs denied of ever having heard of this offence, and declared in public council before the

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* Transcribed from Major Forsyth's Ms. Letter Book. L. C. D.

officer commanding and others, that if any of their people had done anything amiss, they, the chiefs, would be the first to acquaint me of it, or restore the property thus taken.

According to orders I received from the War Department, I made a handsome present to the two brothers of the Sauk Indian who was killed by Samuel Thompson last winter, near Bear Creek, Pike county, in this territory. This I did in presence of the chiefs, telling them if they accepted of the goods, never to say hereafter that an American had killed their brother. They accepted of the goods, and we parted apparently contented. My business finished with these Indians, I immediately set out for Prairie du Chien, after giving them all the few presents I had—still they wanted more; the sick, lame and lazy were brought down to my boat for me to take pity on them, if not in goods, something to eat would be acceptable.

On my arrival at Prairie du Chien, I found the 5th Regiment had arrived there from Detroit a few days before; and the commanding officer, Col. Leavenworth, told me that as soon as his recruits would arrive, as well as ordnance and stores, he would immediately proceed on to make the establishment at the mouth of St. Peter's. I waited some time at the Prairie for these supplies. During which time the Sioux Indians, having heard of my ascending the Mississippi, were continually coming down from the different villages to see me, with the expectation of receiving some presents. In this they were disappointed, as I told them all that I would speak to them at their villages, and make them some presents, so that every one might have a share. Finding that they could not obtain goods, then they began to beg for provisions and some liquor. I thought it would be for the good of the service to give them some, which was issued on my return, being countersigned by the commanding officer, not wishing that they should go away home dissatisfied. Indeed your friend, the Bourgne, or *One Eyed Sioux*, told me, that if you were present you would be more liberal.

Two boats arriving, one loaded with provisions, the other with ordnance stores of different kinds, and no accounts of any recruits being on the way, Col. Leavenworth immediately decided on going up to St. Peter's with what men he could conveniently spare from Prairie du Chien. As soon as things could be got ready, the expedition set out, composed of 98 soldiers and about 20 boatmen. The Bourgne or the *One-Eyed Sioux's* village is on the Iowa river, some eighteen leagues above Prairie du Chien, and hearing of the expedition on the way up, he and his followers placed themselves on the bank of the Mississippi when I halted, and gave them some gunpowder and tobacco. Bourgne agreed with me, that it was better to deliver the blankets, etc., to the Sioux above, as they were more in want than himself and friends.

I proceeded on to Wing Prairie, a distance of 25 leagues, above the Bourgne's village, being the residence of the principal chief of all the Sioux in that quarter, named The Leaf; to him I gave a very handsome present, for which he was very thankful. I next halted at a place called the Ground Barn, at the village of the Red Wing, a distance above the Leaf's village of 25 leagues. I found them waiting for my arrival. I gave those Indians a good present; yet they were not contented, but wanted more. The old Red Wing and his son are great beggars, and wanted everything. The next village is the Little Crow's, at a place called the Grand Marie, being 23 leagues above the Red Wing's village, and within five leagues of the mouth of St. Peter's river. Here I found, in the Little Crow, a steady, generous and independent Indian; he acknowledged the sale of the land at the mouth of the St. Peter's river to the United States, and said he had been looking every year since the sale for the troops to build a fort, and was now happy to see us all, as the Sioux would now have their Father with them. I gave him a better present than to any one at the villages below, as he lived immediately in the vicinity of the troops. The day after my arrival at the mouth of the St. Peter's, Pinichon and the White Bustard, with their bands, came down from

their villages (a few miles up the St. Peter's river) to visit me. To those Chiefs I was equally liberal as I was to Little Crow, and for the same reason, and they returned home contented.

The day following, three chiefs arrived; one, the Six, whose character may easily be read in his countenance, clamored for presents, and rather ordered than requested that I would write on to his Great Father, the President, to send him plenty of kettles, guns, etc.; that he had been promised formerly many things which as yet he had not received, but expected they would be sent to him. He is, as I am informed, a troublesome, good-for-nothing fellow. In all cases, in distributing presents, I had to give each band some liquor; and at one time thought I would not be able to retain a sufficiency of provisions to bring my boat's crew back to this place, for I was determined after I left Prairie du Chien, not to call on the Commissary for any article of provisions whatever.

Mr. T. Honorie, the United States interpreter at this place, I had to engage as an interpreter to go up with me for the Sauks and Foxes; and at Prairie du Chien I was fortunate in procuring an excellent Sioux interpreter to go up with me to St. Peter's. On my arrival at Prairie du Chien in descending, I was well informed that Robert Dickson had left the Sault de St. Marie, in July last, to go to Red river by way of Lake Superior. Should his business be to draw any of the Sioux Indians from St. Peter's to Red river, I think he will be mistaken; as the Little Crow and others were inveigled away formerly, but were glad to return after an absence of only two years.

I am sorry to inform you of the death of Old Lance, one of the principal chiefs of the Sauk Indians. The old man had commenced to develop to the Sauks a plan of dividing property; that is to say, to have their lands surveyed, and each family to have a proportion according to their numbers. He had already made many proselytes; but with the death of the old man, all has fallen to the ground.

Some few Iowas and Sauks planted corn near Fort Edwards. Some few families who are entitled to lands for services rendered during the late war, are living in the evacuated fort, and are occasionally insulted by the drunken Indians, who take up liquor from the settlement, and drink it at and near the fort. About half a company of troops could not be better employed on the Mississippi than at Fort Edwards, under the command of a steady subaltern officer. It would keep the Indians in awe, and might prevent accidents, which must always happen where Indians get drunk among whites.

A letter from an Indian Agent at Chicago, directed to me, or, in my absence, to the Governor of this Territory, had been handed to Mr. Bates previous to my arrival at this place. As soon as I can see Mr. Bates, I will get the letter, and if worth your notice, I will transmit you a copy for your information. The Indians on the Mississippi, I am happy to say, from the best information I can collect, are perfectly peaceable; and those Sauks who visit Malden occasionally, do not appear to express such a high opinion of their British Father as formerly; but, on the contrary, they begin to think that their American Father has the strongest arms, and his medicines are the best.

Capt. Whistler and a trader, on their way up Fox river from Green Bay, at different times were fired on by some of the Winnebagoes residing in that neighborhood, but no damage done.*

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* The officers commanding American troops declined paying tribute to the Winnebagoes in passing up Fox River, as mentioned in vol. 5, p. 96, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, and hence probably this firing on Captain Whistler and the trader. L. C. D.

Jonathan Carver, and "Carver's Grant"

By Daniel Steele Durrie

To preserve the memory, and to hold in respect the services of those whose lives were devoted to the achievement of heroic deeds, are duties which mankind willingly perform; and to this end the art of the sculptor is frequently brought into requisition to embellish the costly monument or statue of him who has rendered his country distinguished services. While this is true in regard to the world's great military chieftains, the same may also be said of the great discoverers in the various departments of knowledge and science. It has too often been the case, that the age in which they lived failed properly to appreciate their invaluable services, and for a season suffered them to be overlooked and neglected and some even to die in penury and in want. Yet those who succeeded them have generally made liberal amends for the unmerited neglect of their fathers. Those also who for the purpose of advancing the cause of religion, or of benefiting their country, have voluntarily traversed the vast wilderness of the New World, acquired the language, studied the manners and customs of the people with whom they came in contact, and thus prepared the way for the standard of civilization, where hitherto the wild barbarian roamed free and unmolested, have rendered a service of incalculable value to the cause of human improvement, and deserve to be honored in all coming time as public benefactors.

The North-Western portion of our country was first explored

by those self-denying missionaries, the early Jesuit Fathers. Anxious for the conversion of the wild, untutored savage, they made known through their successive reports to the civilized world, the richness and fertility of the countries they visited, and thus prepared the way for the advancing tide of human civilization. The early maps of the North-West would have been defective indeed, were it not that Father Marquette and others furnished the results of their explorations; and thus by their labors and those of their successors, territory, equal to kingdoms of the old world, have been reclaimed from barbarism. It is not, therefore, strange, that men are interested in whatever relates to the early history of their country, and more especially, the particular region where they reside; and the present article has been prepared to furnish an account of the life and travels of one to whom the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota are indebted for some deeply interesting episodes in their early history.

Captain Jonathan Carver was probably born in the town of Canterbury,* Windham county, Connecticut, in the year 1732. Of his parentage, we have no definite account, as the genealogical records of that town do not show it. It has been asserted that he was a great grand-son of Governor John Carver, of Plymouth Colony; this, however, is an error, as Governor Carver had no son, and but a single daughter. His grandfather, we learn, was William Joseph Carver, a native of Wigan, Lancashire, England, and a Captain in King Wil-

* Dr. John C. Lettsom, of London, one of the most distinguished physicians, scientists and writers of his day, and one of the truest philanthropists of his time, wrote the memoir prefixed to the edition of Carver's *Travels*, published the next year after his death. He speaks of having examined Carver's papers in the preparation of the memoir, but which, however, would appear to have furnished but meagre information. Dr. Lettsom gives Stillwater, in Connecticut, as Carver's birthplace, and adds—"since rendered famous by the surrender of the army under Gen. Burgoyne." As there is no such place as Stillwater in Connecticut, we have it stated by the American Antiquarian Society, in the published proceedings of their meeting of October 21, 1871, that "Stillwater, in New York, is where Carver was, in fact, born." We infer he was not a native of Stillwater, New York, from the fact stated in French's *Historical and Statistical Gazeteer of New York*, that Stillwater was not settled till about 1750—eighteen years after Carver's birth; and the Carver name does not appear among the first settlers of that town. Dr. Peters states that Carver was born in Canterbury, Connecticut; and Hinman's *Genealogy of the Puritans of Connecticut*, gives the names of several Carvers among the early settlers there—among them David Carver, who died there in 1727; his son, Benjamin, who was born in 1722; Samuel and Esther Carver, the heads of a family; Jonathan and Abigail (*nee* Robins) Carver, married in 1746; and in the adjoining town of Windham, Hinman states that Jonathan Carver, by Eunice Downer, had a son, Jonathan, born December 18, 1741. Barber, in his *Historical Collections of Connecticut*, states that it is believed that Captain Carver was born in Canterbury. All things considered, this inference seems the most probable. L. C. D.

liam's army during the campaign in Ireland, and who afterwards, for meritorious services, received an appointment as an officer in the Colony of Connecticut. His father, who, Dr. Lettsom says, was a Justice of the Peace, gave his son the rudiments of as liberal an education as the times and locality afforded; but soon after his father's decease, which occurred when Jonathan was fifteen years of age, he commenced the study of medicine. His roving disposition would not bear the confinement of a student's office, and he subsequently obtained an ensign's commission in one of the Connecticut Regiments.

Of his military history, Rev. Dr. Samuel A. Peters* says, that he served under Col. Phineas Lyman in the Canadian campaign of 1755, and was subsequently with General Wolfe in the taking of Quebec; and the capture of Montreal, and conquest of Canada, under General Amherst. Carver was unquestionably at the massacre of Fort William Henry in 1757, by the French and Indians under Gen. Montcalm, and was wounded, and very narrowly escaped with his life. Of the two thousand English and Colonial prisoners, fifteen hundred were either killed or carried into captivity by the savages. Carver's account of this massacre, which is a very full one, is

* Dr. Peters, at best, is very questionable authority. He was a native of Hebron, Conn., born in 1735, and was in active life during the whole period of Capt. Carver's public career, his acquaintance with him commencing in 1854; and no doubt, had ample opportunities of learning the particulars of his public services. How much prejudice or interest may have warped his judgment or tempted his cupidity, to make statements unwarranted by the facts in the case, it is impossible at this remote date to determine. He was a violent Tory, and retired to England before the breaking out of the Revolution and remained there over thirty years, during which he wrote his famous *History of Connecticut*. "This work," says Dr. Allen, in his *Biographical Dictionary*, "is embarrassed in its authority by a number of fables;" while the Rev. Dr. Bacon, of Conn., in his *Historical Discourses*, calls it "that most unscrupulous and malicious of lying narratives, Peters' *History of Connecticut*," and that careful historical student, Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Conn., styles him "that notorious liar." It is not easy, in this instance, where so little seems to have been preserved of Carver's French War services, to determine with any accuracy how much reliance may be placed on Dr. Peters' statements alone.

It may be said in partial corroboration of these services that Col. Partridge commanded a Massachusetts regiment in the campaign of 1758, and participated in the attack on Ticonderoga, July 8th of that year—See *N. Y. Colonial Docs.* X. 738. And Col. Whitcomb commanded a Massachusetts regiment at the capture of Montreal, and the final conquest of Canada, in 1760—See *N. Y. Colonial Docs.* X, 713; and Knox's *Hist. Journal*, II, 392.

Dr. Peters cites a certificate of Gen. Amherst going to show that Capt. Carver, "of the Connecticut troops," was a good and brave officer and soldier. Such a statement if true, must refer to his services under Col. Lyman, and at Fort William Henry, prior to his connection with the Massachusetts troops.

Dr. Lettsom asserts. "From the written recommendations in my hands of persons high in office, under whom he acted, he appears to have acquitted himself with great reputation, and much to the satisfaction of his superior officers; and these recommendations are not confined to military conduct merely, but uniformly introduce him as a person of piety, and of a good moral character."

L. C. D.

given by him in his volume of travels. This narrative is one of the most complete of any that has been written, and is of thrilling interest. In the year 1758, a battalion of Light Infantry was raised in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, by order of Gov. Pownall, for the invasion of Canada, in which Carver served as second Lieutenant in Capt. Hawks' company, in Col. Oliver Partridge's regiment; and, in 1760, he was advanced to the captaincy of a company in Col. John Whitcomb's regiment of foot. In 1762 he commanded a company of foot in Col. Saltonstall's regiment, and the year after the peace of Versailles took place, when Capt. Carver, having discharged his military obligations to his country, retired from the service.

Shortly after, to use his own words, "I began to consider how I might continue still serviceable, and contribute as much as in my power, to make that vast acquisition of territory gained by Great Britain from the French in North America, advantageous to us; and it appeared to me indispensably necessary, that the Government should be acquainted, first, with the true state of the dominions they were now become possessed of; and to this purpose I determined, as the next proof of my zeal, to explore the most unknown parts of them, and to spare no trouble or expense in acquiring a knowledge that promised to be so useful to my countrymen." The resolution he formed, was to explore the interior parts of North America, and to penetrate even to the Pacific Ocean, over that broad part of the continent which lies between the 43d and 46th degrees of north latitude. He hoped in so doing to facilitate the discovery of a northwest passage, or a communication between Hudson's Bay and the Pacific, and thus to open up a new and short route to China, and the English settlements in the East Indies.

Entertaining these views, in June, 1766, he set out from Boston, and proceeded by way of Albany and Niagara Falls to Mackinaw, some 1,300 miles from Boston, that point being the interior English post in the North-West, where he arrived in

September of that year; and from this point, we propose to give an outline of his travels, more particularly in the territory now known as the State of Wisconsin. At Mackinaw he applied to Gov. Rogers for a suitable supply of goods for presents to the Indians on his route; and having received a part, with a promise that further supplies should be sent forward to meet him at the Falls of St. Anthony, he proceeded on the 3d of September, westward, and pursuing the usual route to Green Bay, arrived there on the 18th. This fort variously known by the French as La Baye, Baye des Puants, or Stinking Bay, he describes as surrounded by a stockade, much decayed, and scarcely defensible against small arms. It was built by the French for the protection of their trade, but after a short time they were forced to relinquish it. When the English, under Lieut. Gorrell, had been compelled, some three years prior to Carver's arrival there, to surrender themselves prisoners to the Monomonies; and after which it was neither garrisoned nor kept in repair. At the time of his visit, there were a few families residing in the fort, and opposite, on the east side of the river, some French settlers who cultivated the land, and appeared to live comfortably.

In company with several traders, he left Green Bay on the 20th of September, and ascended Fox river, arriving on the 25th at an island on the east end of Lake Winnebago, containing about fifty acres, which was known as the great town of the Winnebagoes. Here the queen, or female ruler of the tribe, received him with great civility, and entertained him in a distinguished manner, during the four days he continued there.* This town contained fifty houses, which were strongly built with palisades. The land on this lake he describes as very fertile, abounding with grapes, plums and other fruit which grew spontaneously. The Indians raised great quanti-

* If a corroborative fact were necessary to verify the general accuracy of Carver's narrative, it is to be found in the traditions still extant, among her descendants, of this remarkable Winnebago Queen. Her Indian name was Ho-po-ko-e-kaw, or *Glory of the Morning*, and daughter of the principal chief of the Winnebagoes. She was married to a Frenchman named De Kaury, who was mortally wounded at Quebec, April 28, 1760, and soon after died at Montreal; so the Queen was a widow at the time of Carver's visit. Her descendants, the De Kaurys, have long figured as distinguished chiefs among the Winnebagoes. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii., 286–89; v., 155–56, 297; and Gale's *Upper Mississippi*, 81, 82, 189. L. C. D.

ties of Indian corn, beans, pumpkins, squashes, watermelons, and some tobacco. This island is probably what is now known as Doty's Island, or the Island City.

Having made some presents to the female chief, he left on the 29th, and on the 7th of October arrived at the carrying place—the portage of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. The day following, the party carried their canoes over to the Wisconsin river, and proceeded down that stream. The next day they arrived at the great town of the Saukies—on the location now known as the village of Prairie du Sac, which Carver says was the largest and best built Indian town he ever saw. It contained about ninety houses, each large enough for several families, built of hewn plank neatly jointed, and covered so compactly with bark as to keep out the most penetrating rains. Before the doors were placed comfortable sheds in which the inhabitants sat, when the weather would permit, and smoked their pipes. The streets were both regular and spacious, appearing more like a civilized town than the abode of savages. The land was rich, and corn, beans, and melons were raised in large quantities. The Saukies had about 300 warriors, who extended their excursions into the territories of the Illinois and Pawnee nations. Carver mentions the mountains, or bluffs, so abundant on the south side of the river, and he visited the lead mines some fifteen miles distant, and somewhere in the region of the Blue Mounds, as his map would seem to indicate.

On the 10th of October, he proceeded down the river, and next day reached the first town of the Otagamies or Foxes, containing fifty houses, most of them deserted on account of a very fatal epidemic that had raged among them. The precise spot where this village was situated is not known with any certainty; but it was probably at Muscoda, which is known to have been the locality of a former Indian settlement. About five miles above the confluence of the Wisconsin and the Mississippi, he discovered the remains of another village, and learned that it had been deserted about thirty years before,

and that the inhabitants soon after built a town on the Mississippi, near the mouth of the Wisconsin, at a place called by the French, La Prairie les Chiens, which signifies the Dog Plains. It was a large town and contained about three hundred families. He saw there many horses of good size and shape. This town was the great mart where the adjacent tribes, and even those who inhabited the remote branches of the Mississippi, annually assembled, about the latter end of May, bringing with them their furs and peltries, to dispose of to the traders; and it was determined by a general council of the chiefs whether it would best conduce to their interests to dispose of the products of the chase at this place, or to transport them to Mackinaw on the one hand, or Louisiana on the other.

Opposite this place, at the mouth of Yellow river, the traders who had thus far accompanied Carver, took up their residence for the winter; and the latter, with a Canadian voyageur and a Mohawk Indian as his only companions, pushed on in a canoe, up the Mississippi. On the 1st of November he arrived at Lake Pepin, which excited his admiration, as it has that of every subsequent traveler; and here, he remarks, "I observed the ruins of a French Factory, where it is said Capt. St. Pierre resided, and carried on a very great trade with the Naudowissies, before the reduction of Canada;" and here the first trading houses, north of the Illinois river, were erected. As early as 1687, Nicolas Perrot was trading in the neighborhood of the Sioux, and Charlevoix, in his *History of New France*, says he built a fort near the mouth of the lake. Sixty miles below Carver noticed the bluff, now known as Trempealeau, or Mount Trempealeau, which he describes as "remarkably situated, as it stands by itself exactly in the middle of the river, and looks as if it had slidden from the adjacent shore into the stream. It cannot be termed an island, as it rises from the brink of the water to a considerable height." Both the Indians and the French very properly called it "the mountain in the water." This interesting location has been frequently referred to by subsequent writers, and it may here

be remarked, that Carver in his description of localities, is remarkably truthful, and his statements have been corroborated by others, with some occasional slight modifications. The present village of Trempealeau is located a short distance south of the bluff.

It is a fact worthy of note, that Carver was the first to call the attention of the civilized world to the existence of the interesting ancient monuments in the Mississippi valley. In this part of his narrative, he gives a full and very interesting account of his having landed on the shore, a few miles below the lake, and while his attendants were preparing his dinner, he ascended the bank to view the country, and had not proceeded far, before he came to a level open plain, on which he perceived a partial elevation that had the appearance of an entrenchment or ancient fortification; and notwithstanding it was covered with grass, he could plainly discover, that it had once been a breast-work of about four feet in height, and extending nearly a mile, and sufficiently capacious to enclose five thousand persons. Its form was somewhat circular, and its flanks reached the river. Subsequent travelers have noticed these remains, but the shifting sands have nearly obliterated their outlines. Here is an interesting field for the antiquary, who may desire to explore and study the remains of the early and mysterious mound-builders of the Mississippi valley.

Above Lake Pepin he remarks that "the river is full of islands, covered with sugar maple trees, and around them vines loaded with grapes to their very tops." And near the mouth of St. Croix river, probably in the vicinity of the city of Prescott, he first made the acquaintance of the Dakota Indians, and had the good fortune to make a treaty of peace between that nation and the Chippewas, at a time when an engagement was imminent. This act of his was kindly appreciated, and in return they bestowed upon him every possible attention.

Proceeding onward, he discovered a remarkable cave, which he minutely describes, and known to the Indians as *Wakan-*

tebee—the dwelling of the "Great Spirit." "The entrance is about ten feet wide, with a height of five feet, and a breadth of thirty feet. About thirty feet from the entrance begins a lake which extends to an unsearchable distance." In this cave he found many Indian hieroglyphics which appeared very ancient; they were cut in a rude manner, upon the inside of the wall, which was composed of a stone so extremely soft that it might be easily penetrated with a knife—a stone which is found in great abundance in this vicinity. This cave has since then been materially altered by the action of the elements, and many years since, the roof of the cave fell in. In 1806, when Pike visited it, the entrance was nearly choked up by rock and earth; in 1820 it was entirely closed, leading Schoolcraft into an error, and causing him to think that the cave near St. Paul, now known as the "Fountain Cave," was the one described by Carver. Mr. Featherstonhaugh, the geologist, in 1835, fell into the same error; but in 1837, Mr. Nicollet, while employed by Government in making a hydrographical survey of the Upper Mississippi, succeeded in finding it by removing the debris which has accumulated around the opening.*

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* J. F. Williams, Secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, states in the interesting pamphlet issued by that Association on the celebration of the Carver Centenary, in 1867, that among the pictographs then to be found on the walls, a rude representation of a serpent, some three feet in length, was the most prominent; adding that "it is strenuously asserted by many antiquarians to be the seal, or family coat of arms, of O-toh-ton-goom-lish-caw, whose signature to the great deed was a representation of a snake. Others say it is not Indian, but evidently the work of a white man. If so, it must have been done a long time ago, as our earliest settlers say it was there when they first visited the cave.

"The distance from the edge of the water to the extreme end of the cave is about 112 feet. * * * From the entrance of the cave the extreme end would not be visible, as it bends considerably to the left. About half way up the cave, on the west side, is seen a small, low grotto. Through this low opening, there is a connection with Dayton's cave, a few hundred feet up the river, and water flows from one into the other. The temperature of the cave is about 50 degrees, at which figure it remains summer and winter, irrespective of the external heat or cold, scarcely changing a degree.

"Dayton's cave is strictly not a cave at all. It is a hollow space under a large shelving rock. It has been walled up in front, and was used many years for a vegetable cellar. Latterly it has been used as a bottling vault for ale and ginger pop. At the rear of the cave is a pool of clear cold water, like that in Carver's cave, but much smaller. This fact has probably caused Dayton's cave to be mistaken as the real Carver's cave. Miss Bishop, in her *Floral Homes*, and Neill, in his *History of Minnesota*, fell into this error."

Just as this paper was being sent to the press, Mr. Williams has kindly furnished the following additional note—causing a feeling of sadness, that so interesting a land-mark of the olden time has been obliterated forever:

"The cave remained up to the present year [1872] in almost the same condition it was probably in when Carver visited it. His description of it, 100 years ago, would have been a faithful and correct picture of it during that period. This season, however, the Saint Paul and Chicago Railway, having condemned to their use the land on, or *in* which it is situated, their track running along the bank of the river directly in front of it, have dug away most of it, so that the cave is virtually destroyed. The stream which flowed through it has been diverted, and now supplies a railroad tank, while the lake or pool inside has disappeared. Thus the historic relics of the past are destroyed to make way for the improvements of modern progress."

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At a short distance from this place is the burial ground of several bands of the Naudowissie or Dakota Indians. Though these people have no fixed residence, living, as they do, in tents and changing their location every few months, yet, Carver tells us, they always brought the bones of their dead to this place for interment.

Ten miles, as he reckoned distance, below the Falls of St. Anthony, the river St. Pierre, called by the natives Wad-da-paw-Men-e-so-tor—and here we have the word Minnesota in its original—falls into the Mississippi from the west. This stream is not mentioned by Father Hennepin, an omission which Carver attributed to it being partially concealed from view by a small island (Faribault's), situated exactly at its entrance. On reaching this river, now known as the Minnesota river, the ice became so troublesome, that he left his canoe in the neighborhood of what is now Findlay's Ferry, and walked to St. Anthony, where he arrived on November 17th, in company with a young Indian chief who had never seen the Falls; and on reaching the eminence, some distance below, began to invoke his Gods, and offer oblations to the spirit in the waters. Carver gives a full account of this event, and seems to have been very much charmed with the artless and engaging manner of this unpolished savage. He says that the chief "no sooner gained the point overlooking this wonderful cascade, than he began, in an audible voice, to address the Great Spirit, saying that he had come a long way to pay his adoration to him, and would now make him the best offerings in his power. He accordingly first threw his pipe in the stream—then the roll that contained his tobacco; after these, the bracelets he wore on his arms and wrists; next an ornament that encircled his neck, composed of beads and wires; and, at last, the ear-rings from his ears; in short, he presented to his God every part of his dress that was valuable. During these ceremonies, he frequently smote his breast with great violence, threw his arms about, and appeared to be greatly agitated."

In his narrative, Carver describes the Falls as they then appeared, accompanied with a fine copper-plate engraving of them. The whole appearance of the cataract is, of course, greatly changed. It is not necessary to give his account in full, though it is very interesting. In the middle of the Falls, he says, "stands a small island about forty feet broad, on which grow a few cragged hemlock and spruce trees; and about half way between this island and the eastern shore is a rock lying at the very edge of the Falls, in an oblique position, that appeared to be about five or six feet broad, and thirty or forty feet long. At a little distance below the Falls stands a small island of about an acre and a half, on which grow a great number of oak trees, the branches of which were covered with eagles' nests." From this description it would seem, says Mr. Neill, the historian of Minnesota, "that the little island, now some distance in front of the falls, was once in the very midst, and shows that a constant recession has been going on, and that in ages long past they were not far from the Minnesota river—a century hence, if the wearing of the last five years is any criterion, the Falls will be above the town of St. Anthony," and perhaps ultimately will change into a series of rapids. Of the country adjacent, Carver speaks in the most glowing terms; and it is sufficient to say the same is not at all exaggerated, and that at the present time fields of golden grain are annually gathered therefrom, and the country around is brought under the highest state of cultivation and improvement.

Having satisfied his curiosity, he proceeded until he reached the river St. Francis, now known as Elk river, near sixty miles above the Falls; but, as the season was far advanced, he was not able to make as many observations as he otherwise would have done. On the 25th of November, he returned to where he had left his canoe, and the river being clear of ice below the Falls, he commenced his ascent of the Minnesota river, and proceeded some two hundred miles to the country of the Naudowissie or Sioux Indians of the plains. With them

he spent some five months, receiving at their hands every hospitality; during which time he acquired a knowledge of their language, and learned much information concerning the geography of their own country, and of those regions that lay to the westward of them. They also drew rude maps of all the countries with which they were acquainted. This was the limits of his travels westward.* He left the habitations of these hospitable Indians at the latter end of April, 1767, and commenced his return, but did not part with them for several days, as he was accompanied on his journey by nearly three hundred of their number, among whom were many chiefs, to the mouth of the Minnesota river.

It was the annual habit of these bands to go at this season to the great cave before mentioned to hold a grand council with all the other bands; wherein they settled their operations for the ensuing year. At the same time they brought with them their dead for interment, bound up in buffalo skins. Carver was admitted to their grand council, and on this occasion he made a speech, which is published in his travels. It was delivered on the 1st of May, 1767. In this cave, according to his biographer, Dr. Lettsom, these Indian chiefs, in consideration of their high appreciation of the services rendered by their guest (Carver), and in return for many presents, gave him a deed for a large tract of land, lying on the north side of Lake Pepin, including the whole or portions of the counties of Pierce, Pepin, Dunn, Clark, Buffalo, Trempealeau, Jackson, Chippewa, Polk, Dallas, Barron and Marathon, in Wisconsin, and also embracing a large territory in the vicinity of the Falls of St. Anthony, in Minnesota.

The history of what is known as the "Carver Tract," is one of much interest, and the documents connected with the investigation of this claim by Congress, will be appended to this paper.

While tarrying at the mouth of the Minnesota river, he endeavored to gain intelligence whether any goods had been sent

* It is not a little strange, that so many works referring to Carver and his travels—Appleton's *American Cyclopedia* included—carelessly and erroneously state, that he proceeded to the Pacific Ocean. L. C. D.

towards the Falls of St. Anthony for his use, agreeably to the promise he had received from Governor Rogers when he left Mackinaw; but finding from some Indians who passed by on their return from those parts, that this agreement had not been fulfilled, he was obliged to give up all thought of proceeding farther to the North-West by this route according to his original plan, and decided to return to Prairie du Chien. Here he procured as many goods from the traders as they could spare. These, however, were not sufficient to enable him to carry out his original purpose; so he determined to make his way across the country of the Chippewas to Lake Superior. He hoped to meet, at the Grand Portage, on the north side of the Lake, the traders that annually go from Mackinaw to the North-West, of whom he thought he should be able to procure goods enough to answer his needs; it was his purpose, also, to penetrate through those more northern parts to the straits of Annian. Having concluded his business at Prairie du Chien, he proceeded again up the Mississippi as far as the mouth of Chippewa river, and having engaged an Indian pilot, he wended his way up that river toward the Ottawa Lakes, where he arrived at the beginning of July.

While at Chippewa Falls, he saw a remarkable sight. In a wood, on the east side of the river, which was three-quarters of a mile in length, and in depth farther than he could see, every tree, many of which were six feet in circumference, was lying flat upon the ground, torn up by the roots. This, he says, must have been done by some extraordinary hurricane that came from the West, many years before. The west side of the river, from there being less timber there, escaped in a great measure this destructive tornado, as only a few trees were blown down.

Near the headwaters of the Chippewa river, Carver found a Chippewa village adjacent to a small lake. The town was composed of forty houses, and could send forth one hundred warriors. The dwellings were built after the Indian manner, and the inhabitants, he says, were "the nastiest people" he had

ever seen, adding that the women were in the habit of searching each others heads, and eating the prey caught thereon.

In July, he left this town, and having crossed a number of small lakes and carrying places that intervened, came to a head branch of the St. Croix river—probably in the present county of Burnett. This branch he descended to a fork, and then ascended another to its source; on both these rivers he discovered several mines of virgin copper, which he describes as very pure. He finally found a stream which he descended into Lake Superior—probably in the present county of Douglas. The latter end of July, after having coasted around the western extremity of the lake, he arrived at the Grand Portage, opposite Isle Royal, on the northern side of Lake Superior; and from the Indians derived valuable information of Lakes Winnepek and Bourbon, and other lakes and streams lying to the North-West.

Here again he found his expectations disappointed in not being able to procure the goods he wished, for the purpose of pursuing his journey by way of the Canadian lakes to the headwaters of the streams flowing to the Pacific, and was thus compelled to give up the one great object of his travels. Though sadly disappointed, he continued for some months traversing the northern and eastern borders of the lake, and exploring the bays and rivers, coasting in the aggregate nearly twelve hundred miles. He went to the Falls of St. Marie, and thence to Mackinaw, arriving there in the beginning of November, 1767. He had been fourteen months on this extensive tour, and visited twelve different nations of Indians lying to the west and north of Mackinaw. The winter soon after setting in, he remained at this place till June following, when he returned to the East. He arrived at Boston in October, 1768, having been absent on this expedition two years and five months, during which time he had traversed nearly seven thousand miles.

Such is a synopsis of the travels of this distinguished explorer, and it remains only to make a mere mention of the subsequent prominent events of his life.

Soon after his return to Boston, he sailed for England, with a view to publish a work on his travels, and communicate the discoveries he had made, and render them beneficial to that kingdom. On his arrival, he presented a petition to the King and council for a reimbursement of the means he had expended in his services and explorations. This was referred to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, having such matters in charge by whom he was examined in regard to his discoveries. No recompense was then granted him, but permission was given him to publish his travels. After he had disposed of them to a publisher, and had the work nearly ready for the printer, an order was received from the Council Board, requiring him to deliver into the Plantation Office, all his charts and journals, with every paper relating to the discoveries which he had made, as they were claimed as rightfully belonging to the Government. In order to obey this inexorable command, he was obliged to re-purchase them from the publisher, to whom his pressing necessities had probably rendered it unavoidable to dispose of them.

Meanwhile, the King did so far yield to a sense of justice as to dole out a gratuity of £1,373, 6s., 8d., and finally after withholding his papers nearly ten years, permitted him to publish his work. This volume was well received, and three editions were at different times published in England.

It is stated on the authority, such as it is, of Dr. S. Peters, that the British Government at length, in February, 1775, at the time they had granted Carver the money just mentioned, promised him a body of 150 men to sail for New Orleans, in the following June, to take possession of his territory. This, his friends regarded as a tacit admission of his claim—though in reality no formal confirmation was ever made.* Captain Carver had interested a Mr. Richard Whitworth, a member of Parliament, and Major Rogers,† in his views of a

* Lord Palmerston stated in 1839, that no trace could be found in the records in the British Office or State papers, showing any ratification of the Carver Grant.— Neill's *Minnesota*.

† This was the famous Major Robert Rogers, who commanded the partisan corps of Rangers in the French and Indian War, and who, while Governor of Mackinaw in 1766, befriended Carver in his outfit of presents for the Indians. During the Revolutionary War, he sided with the British, and commanded the Queen's Rangers; and died in England about 1800, at about the age of seventy years.

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northern American route to the Pacific. They proposed to have built a Fort on Lake Pepin; to have proceeded up the Minnesota river until they found—as they supposed they could —a branch of the Missouri, and thence journeying over the summit of lands—the Rocky Mountain chain—until they came to a river which they called Oregon, by which they could descend to the Pacific. But the breaking out of the Revolutionary War put an end to all these hopeful schemes of settlement and exploration.

Captain Carver was the author of a pamphlet *Treatise on the Culture of Tobacco*—a work of much merit, published in 1779. The same year a large folio volume entitled the *New Universal Traveler,* appeared with his name as the author—a work which he did not prepare, to which, probably in his poverty and want, he sold his name; and in consequence of which, he was abandoned by those whose duty it was to befriend him. He keenly felt the injustice of his treatment by the Government, and the abandonment of his friends served but to add poignancy to his mental sufferings. Dr. Lettsom observes that "Capt. Carver, after having exhausted his fortune, had now a family to support, without knowing how to turn his abilities to any means of succoring them. Distress of mind begets debility of body, which is still aggravated by penury, and a want of the common necessaries of life. His constitution, naturally firm, gradually grew weaker and weaker; but his regard to his family animated his spirit to exertions beyond the strength of his body, which enabled him to preserve existence through the winter of 1779, by acting as clerk in a lottery office; but the vital powers, succored as they were by this casual support, diminished by certain, though imperceptible degrees, till at length a putrid fever supervening a long continued dysentery, brought on by want, put an end to the life of a man, who, after rendering, at the expense of fortune and health and risk of life, many important services to his country, perished through want in the first city of the world." He died on the 31st of January, 1780, at the age of forty-eight

years, and lies interred in Holywell Mount burying ground.* "In size," continues Dr. Lettsom, "Capt. Carver was rather above the middle stature, and of a firm, muscular texture; his features expressed a firmness of mind and boldness of resolution; and he retained a florid complexion to his latest moments. In conversation he was social and affable, where he was familiar; but his extreme diffidence and modesty kept him, in general, reserved in company. In his familiar epistles he commanded an easy and agreeable manner of writing; and some pieces of his poetry, which have been communicated to me, afford proof of his lively imagination, and of the harmony of his versification."

While in England he contracted a second marriage. By his first wife he had two sons, Jonathan and Rufus Carver, and four daughters, Sarah, Abigail, Mary and Mindwell—whose descendants are widely scattered, some residing in Wisconsin. By his second marriage he had two children, one of whom died young, the other, Martha, grew up to womanhood and married.

Capt. Carver's ruling passion was a spirit of bold enterprise and adventure, and firm integrity and undaunted courage were among his prominent characteristics. The narrative of his travels everywhere exhibits a strict regard for truth, without any tinge of romantic imagination. A man of such unaffected modesty, and a "diffidence," says Dr. Lettsom, "which in some instances, was extraordinary indeed," could not have acted the part of a falsifier or a braggart. That he was an acute and close observer, an industrious student of ethnology, and a careful, discriminating journalist, his chapter on the Indian Races and the natural history of the North-West

* There seems to be a discrepancy of a couple of days in the date of Carver's death, between Dr. Lettsom and Dr. Peters' accounts, and the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1780, p. 102; the latter says the event occurred Jan. 29th, 1780; and on p. 153 of the same volume, it is stated: "We are sorry to inform our readers, that we are well assured that Capt. Carver died absolutely and strictly starved, leaving a wife and two small children, for whom Dr. Lettsom, with his wonted humanity, interests himself, and has disposed of many copies of his *Travels*, which, notwithstanding their great merit, could not procure him a competent provision." It was for the benefit of Capt. Carver's family, that Dr. Lettsom issued the third edition of the *Travels*, with the memoir of the author prefixed, in 1781. And it was in consequence of the touching account the Doctor gave of Carver's death in poverty and want, that led to the institution of the celebrated and useful "Literary Fund" of London, for the relief of needy authors. See *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1780, p. 183, and Allibone's *Dict. of Authors*. L. C. D.

must prove to even the most casual reader. The cold neglect of the Government, and the utter destitution of the close of his life, present another example of the treatment usually allotted by the world to those who make great discoveries and great sacrifices for its sake.

That he had far-sighted views of the great value of the new regions he had so thoroughly explored, and so faithfully described, is best attested by the following extract from his work: "To what power or authority this New World will become dependent after it has arisen from its present uncultivated state, time alone can discover. But as the seat of empire from time immemorial has been gradually progressive towards the west, there is no doubt but that at some future period mighty kingdoms will emerge from these wildernesses, and stately palaces and solemn temples with gilded spires reaching the skies, supplant the Indian huts, whose only decorations are the barbarous trophies of their vanquished enemies." Speaking of the advantages of the country, he says: "The future population will be able to convey their produce to the seaports with great facility, the current of the river from its source to its entrance into the Gulf of Mexico, being extremely favorable for this purpose. This might in time be facilitated by canals or shorter cuts, and a communication opened by water with New York, by way of the Lakes."

Captain Carver has passed away, and where one hundred years ago, the wild Indians were the only race that occupied the land of our own beautiful State, a marvellous change has indeed taken place. The Red Man, except here and there a straggler, has also departed, and we who have superceded him can mark the changes of time, and the improvements in the arts of industry and civilization, and rejoice that we have such a goodly heritage. Let us never cease to respect the memory of one of Wisconsin's earliest explorers and truest narrators, Captain Jonathan Carver, of the colony of Connecticut.

The Carver Grant

For the last eighty or more years, a large tract of country, lying in the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota, has been claimed by Capt. Carver's descendants and assignees, under a title or grant from certain Indian chiefs at what is known as "Carver's Cave," a short distance north of St. Paul, on the first day of May, 1767. It is described as follows: "From the Falls of St. Anthony running on the eastern bank of the Mississippi nearly south-east as far as the south end of Lake Pepin, at the mouth of the Chippewa river, thence eastward one hundred miles, thence northward one hundred twenty miles, and from thence in a straight line to the Falls of St. Anthony." This territory includes the present cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis, and some of the choicest lands in the State of Minnesota.

The existence of this claim, and the attempts which have been made to induce the Congress of the United States to confirm the Indian grant, or compensate the supposed owners for the loss of the land, have given the subject an importance, to entitle it to a place among the historic records of our State.

In his published volume of travels, Carver gives an account of an Indian council, held at the cave which is known by his name, and a speech which he purports to have made to the Indians; yet no mention is there made of any grant of lands. After his decease, Dr. Lettsom, his biographer, and a man of the highest reputation, states, that the deed of which he inserted a copy in his edition of Carver's *Travels,* was literally and accurately copied from a manuscript paper in the possession of his widow, Mary Carver, who declared to him, Dr. Lettsom, that it was an original grant conveyed to her husband by the Indians.* This is the first account we have

* Carver only once in the body of his work, mentions the chiefs, whose signatures and "family coat of arms" are appended to the deed. On page 380, speaking of Indian nomenclature, he says: "This great warrior of the Naudowissies was named Ot-tah-ton-goom-lish-cah, that is, *The Great Father of Snakes;* ottah, being in English, father, ton-goom, great, and lish-ca, a snake. Another chief was called Ho-nah-paw-ja-tin, which means a swift runner over the mountains."—J. F. Williams, in the Carver Centenary pamphlet, 1867.

of its existence. There is no evidence extant, that Carver ever mentioned such a grant, or alluded to such a deed during his lifetime, except that Dr. Peters states in his testimony, that Carver in his last sickness, referred to the grant in his and Dr. Lettsom's presence, and expressed a hope that his Majesty would ratify the deed for the good of his children, and for the good of the nation in strengthening the friendship of the Indians to the English in that quarter; and except so far as the scheme, stated on the same doubtful authority, of making a contemplated settlement and fort at Lake Pepin, might be supposed to confirm the idea of such a grant.

Dr. Peters' testimony that Carver had a hearing before the King, in February, 1775, praying for a confirmation of that grant, is neither corroborated nor disproved. It may be regarded as quite certain, that there is nothing in Captain Carver's character to warrant the supposition that he would be guilty of forging such a deed; and it would be preposterous to suppose that Dr. Lettsom would for a moment have lent himself to any mere trumped up scheme to cheat or delude the public. He certainly believed in the authenticity of the deed; and of all men he had the best opportunities, from his personal knowledge of Captain Carver and his widow, and from the Captain's papers, of which he became possessed, to judge of the trustworthiness of the deed in question. At this period Dr. Peters, so far as we know, has no interest in this claim, and could have had no motive for imposing any interested views or purposes of his own on Dr. Lettsom—nor have we any evidence that he ever made any such attempt.*

* If Capt. Carver really obtained his grant on this occasion, why, it may be asked, did he maintain so complete a silence in his work on the subject—a silence that has given rise to a suspicion, that the grant was merely an after-thought on Carver's part, or a forgery on the part of some one after his death. The most natural explanation we can offer is this: That Carver knew full well that by the King's proclamation of Oct. 7, 1763, individuals were strictly inhibited from acquiring land grants from the Indians, whether singly or collectively; yet he nevertheless, had so far won upon the friendship and gratitude of the two Sioux chiefs, that a large land grant was easily obtained, and very tempting; and that he concluded to secure it, and trust to time and the merit of his discoveries and sacrifices, eventually to secure a confirmation of the grant. That he deemed it the better policy to omit all reference to the deed in his volume of *Travels*, lest it should be thought that the work was gotten up for the especial design of attracting attention to his grant, and aiding to secure its confirmation—that this very boldness, if practiced, might defeat the object in view. Hence he probably thought, that by omitting all allusions to the grant, the work might, and probably would, be favorably received by the scientific and learned men of Great Britain and the Colonies, and would thus aid in building up a reputation in his behalf, that would materially serve to strengthen his petition and appeal to the Government for the ultimate confirmation of the grant. We are strongly inclined to

It was not till after Dr. Peters' return to America, in 1805, that he became a principal party, under the American claimants, to this tract. The testimony of Dr. Peters, and other evidence in the petitions which were brought forward in the application to Congress by the heirs, and the reports of the committees to whom the matter was referred, are so full and complete, that it has been thought advisable to republish all this testimony and other accompanying documents from the American State Papers, from reading of which every one interested in the subject can form his own opinion as to the merits or demerits of the claim.

We find in the British *Annual Register* for 1798, this paragraph: "A young woman of the name of Carver, house maid to Capt. Sir Richard Pearson, of Greenwich Hospital proves to be the daughter of the late Captain Carver, of great trans-Atlantic celebrity, who acquired a vast tract of country in the back settlements of America. This the Indians have faithfully guaranteed and preserved for his legal representative, who is, at length, indisputably found in the fortunate young woman above mentioned. The territory, in times of peace, is estimated at £100,000 sterling."

It was probably about this period that Dr. Peters referred, when he made the following statement: That he learned from

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believe that such were the views that influenced Capt. Carver in preserving entire silence in his work with reference to his grant, and that the result of the course he had adopted was very much as he had contemplated.

The evidence adduced in the letter of Constant A. Andrews, among the documents that follow, is that the Sioux Chief Red Wing, 1818–19, said he was too young at the time to recollect anything of the papers of conveyance, but that his two uncles gave Carver the lands. The late Judge James H. Lockwood, in his Narrative, published in the 2d vol. of *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, testifies to the fact that such a person as Andrews erected a saw mill in the Indian country at that time. In Major Forsyth's Journal of 1819, now first published, we find on pp. 199, 211–12 of this volume, a remarkable confirmation of Red Wing's statement; that he had heard his father say, that such a grant east of Lake Pepin, was given to an Englishman who promised to return with large presents of merchandize, and settle in the country. Red Wing was about sixty years of age when he so stated to Major Forsyth: he must, therefore, have been only about eight years old when Carver visited the Sioux—too young to have remembered the circumstances, except as his father related them to him. From Andrews' letter, it would appear that Lefoy, or Wau-be-shaw, also made a statement favorable to Carver's claim—precisely what, is not stated.

That the most of the Sioux, fifty years after the grant was given to Carver, should plead ignorance of the transaction, is very natural—one positive evidence, from a reliable witness, would be worth more than a whole regiment of negative or don't-know testimony. It is a well-known fact in Indian policy, that the Red Men find it very convenient, after having sold lands and enjoyed the proceeds, to deny all knowledge of such sale, hoping to renew the bargain and get paid again; and thus keep up the process as long as they can make it work to their comfort and advantage. As early as 1742, Colden informs us, that the great Iroquois chief and orator, Ca-nas-sa-tee-go, thus sharply rebuked some of his people, who had been playing this game: "This land you claim has gone through your guts; you have been furnished with clothes, meat and drink, by the goods paid you for it, and now you want it again, children as you are." L. C. D.

Dr. Lettsom and others, that Mr. C. & Co., believing that Martha Carver owned the land in question, as she was deemed the only surviving child of Capt. Carver; Mr. C. & Co. induced Martha to leave the house of Lady Pearson, her benefactor and foster-mother, who had adopted Martha as her own child, and clandestinely to marry a sailor; and then induced her and her husband to take out letters of administration on Capt. Carver's estate, and the next day prevailed on them to appoint Mr. C. their agent, conveying to this person by the same instrument, all the territory mentioned in the Indian deed to Capt. Carver, reserving only one-tenth to Martha and her husband. That Mr. C. & Co. sent a Mr. Clark with goods and money of nearly £2,000 sterling in value, to visit the Naudowissies, and procure a new deed of the land to C. & Co. That Clark, on his way from New York to Niagara was murdered and robbed, and the murderer discovered, convicted, and hanged at Albany; but that the sad catastrophe of Mr. Clark prevented C. & Co. from any further prosecution of their scheme, as Dr. Lettsom, Sir Richard Pearson, Dr. Pearson and others related to Dr. Peters, and also that it was their opinion that Clark had the original deed with him at the time of his murder, which had been surreptitiously taken from Dr. Lettsom.

On the 9th of May, 1794, the American children executed a deed of conveyance in fee to Edward Houghton, of Vermont, of all their respective rights and interests for the consideration of £50,000 sterling; and in 1822, Mr. Houghton, by deed, granted the "Carver Grant" to James L. Bell and Charles Graham, of New York city, and George Blake, of Boston, in trust for the use of the stockholders of a certain unincorporated company called the Mississippi Land Company, of New York, and their assigns forever.

Meanwhile Dr. Peters, with a Mr. Samuel Harrison, had petitioned Congress, setting forth that in November, 1806, the former had purchased of the heirs of Carver all their rights, but did not exhibit the deed of conveyance.

The documents which follow, it is believed, contain every material fact claimed by Carver's descendants, and assigns, as well as the views entertained by the Congressional Committees. The whole subject appears to have been examined by them impartially and with the best of motives; and, as will be seen, they reported that the prayer of the petitioners *ought not to be granted,* which reports were accepted and adopted by Congress. This decision at this remote period will probably never be disturbed.

It is to be regretted that even at the present time certain unscrupulous persons are engaged in imposing titles under this claim upon the ignorant and unsuspecting; and on quite a recent occasion, an individual passed through Madison, on his way to the North-West, to examine the quality of land he had purchased under the Carver Grant, it having been represented to him that the title was good and valid. Letters of inquiry concerning this Grant are yet of not infrequent occurrence; and deeds under the Carver title are recorded at Prairie du Chien and St. Paul, and perhaps elsewhere.

Documents Relating to the Carver Grant

Indian Deed to Capt. Jonathan Carver

To Jonathan Carver, a chief under the most mighty and potent George the Third, king of the English and other nations, the fame of whose courageous warriors has reached our ears, and has been more fully told us by our good brother Jonathan aforesaid, whom we rejoice to see come among us and bring us good news from his country. We, chiefs of the Naudowissies, who have hereto set our seals, do by these presents, for ourselves and heirs forever, in return for the many presents, and other good services done by the said Jonathan to ourselves and allies, give, grant and convey to him the said Jonathan, and to his heirs and assigns forever, the whole of a certain tract, or

territory of land, bounded as follows: (viz.) from the Falls of St. Anthony, running on the east banks of the Mississippi nearly southeast, as far as the south end of Lake Pepin, where the Chippewa river joins the Mississippi, and from thence eastward five day's travel, accounting twenty English miles per day, and from thence north six day's travel, at twenty English miles per day, and from thence again to the Falls of St. Anthony, on a direct straight line. We do for ourselves, heirs and assigns forever, give unto the said Jonathan, his heirs and assigns forever, all the said lands, with all the trees, rocks and rivers therein, reserving for ourselves and heirs the sole liberty of hunting and fishing on land not planted or improved by the said Jonathan, his heirs and assigns: to which we have affixed our respective seals, at the Great Cave, May the first, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven.

HAW-NO-PAW-JA-TEN,
(With his totem or mark of a turtle.)
O-TOH-TON-GOOM-LISH-EAW,
(With his totem or mark of a snake.)

Indian Grant to Capt. Jonathan Carver

Communicated to the House of Representatives, April 24, 1822.

To the House of Representatives:

In compliance with the resolution of the House of Representatives on the 29th January last, requesting the President of the United States to cause to be communicated to that House, certain information relative to the claim made by Jonathan Carver to certain lands within the United States, near the Falls of St. Anthony, I now transmit a report from the Secretary of the Treasury, which, with the accompanying documents, contain all the information on this subject in the possession of the Executive.

JAMES MONROE.

WASHINGTON, April 23, 1822.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, 22d April, 1822.

SIR:—In obedience to a resolution of the House of Repretatives of the 29th of January last, which has been referred to this department, I have the honor to transmit the enclosed report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, with a copy of a letter from Col. H. Leavenworth to the said Commissioner, which contain all the information in the possession of this department relative to the claim of Jonathan Carver to certain lands within the United States, near the Falls of St. Anthony.

I remain with respect, your most obedient servant,

WM. H. CRAWFORD.

The President of the United States.

GENERAL LAND OFFICE, February 8, 1822.

SIR:—In obedience to the resolve of the House of Representatives of the United States, of January 29, 1822, "that the President of the United States be requested to cause to be communicated to this House, such information as may be obtained from any report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office heretofore made on the subject, or from other documents in any of the public offices, relative to the claim made by Jonathan Carver to certain lands within the United States, near the Falls of St. Anthony," which is this day referred to me, I have the honor to state that, in the winter of 1766–1767, Jonathan Carver resided at or near the Falls of St. Anthony, on the river Mississippi, being the only white person there, and asserted that the Naudowissie Indians gave him about 100 miles square of land on the east side of the Mississippi, between the Falls of St. Anthony and Lake Pepin.

By the proclamation of the King of Great Britain, dated October 7, 1763, the purchase of lands from the Indians is prohibited in the following terms, viz.: "We do strictly enjoin and require that no private person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians of any lands reserved to the said Indians, within those parts of our Colonies where we have thought proper to allow settlements, but that if at any time any of the said Indians

should be inclined to dispose of the said lands, the same shall be purchased for us only in our name, at some public meeting or assembly of the said Indians to be held for that purpose, by the Governor or Commander-in-Chief of our colony, respectively, within which they shall lie."

Captain Jonathan Carver had been an officer in the British service in the war, which terminated by the treaty concluded at Paris, February 10, 1763; his pretended purchase was, therefore, in direct violation of the rules and regulations of his own Government, and in any court under that Government would have been judged null and void.

The same correct policy which dictated the proclamation of October 7, 1763, has been invariably adhered to by the United States, and was ably supported by their Ministers during the negotiations at Ghent, in 1814, particularly in the note of September 26, addressed to the British Commissioners.

I beg leave to transmit, as a part of this report, a copy of a letter from Col. Henry Leavenworth, of the Army of the United States, containing information on this subject, which, it is presumed, will be deemed valuable.

Frequent applications have been made to this office by gentlemen from various parts of the United States, requesting an opinion on the validity of Carver's claim; to all of which, the answer has been, that the claim is unfounded, and of no validity.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

I am, &c., &c.,

JOSIAH MEIGS.

Honorable, the Secretary of the Treasury.

WASHINGTON, July 28, 1821.

SIR:—Agreeable to your request, I have the honor to inform you what I have understood from the Indians of the Sioux nation, as well as some facts within my own knowledge, as to what is commonly termed "Carver's Grant."

The grant purports to be made by chiefs of the Sioux of the Plain, and one of the chiefs uses the sign of the serpent, and

the other a turtle, purporting that their names are derived from those animals.*

The land lies on the east side of the Mississippi. The Indians do not recognize or acknowledge the grant to be valid, and they (among others) assign the following reasons:

1st. The Sioux of the Plain never owned a foot of land on the east side of the Mississippi. The Sioux Nation is divided into two grand divisions, viz: the Sioux of the Lake, or, perhaps, more literally, Sioux of the River, and Sioux of the Plain. The former subsist by hunting and fishing, and usually move from place to place by water, in canoes, during the summer season, and travel on the ice in the winter, when not on their hunting excursions.

The latter subsist entirely by hunting, and have no canoes, nor do they know but little about the use of them. They reside in the large prairies *west* of the Mississippi, and follow the buffalo, upon which they entirely subsist: these are called Sioux of the Plain, and never owned land on the east side of the Mississippi.

2d. The Indians say they have no knowledge of any such chiefs as those who have signed the grant to Carver, either amongst the Sioux of the River, or among the Sioux of the Plain. They say, if Captain Carver ever did obtain a deed or grant, it was signed by some foolish young men who were not chiefs, and who were not authorized to make the grant. Among the Sioux of the River there are no such names.

3d. They say that the Indians "never received any thing for the land," and they have no intention to part with it without a consideration.

From my knowledge of the Indians, I am induced to think that they would not make so considerable a grant, and have it go into full effect, without receiving a substantial consideration.

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* These appendages to an Indian Chief's signature are not designed to explain, as Colonel Leavenworth supposed, the name itself; but was the totem symbolic of the particular band of the tribe to which he belonged; and each tribe or nation was subdivided into several bands, each designated by its *totem* of some bird or beast, or the like. These *totems* were not only appended to their names on treaty and other business papers, but on their grave-posts, and on their pictograph representations carved on trees when returning from war excursions. Thus Longfellow tells us:

"And they painted on the grave-posts
Of the graves yet unforgotten,
Each his own ancestral *totem*,
Each the symbol of his household;
Figures of the bear and reindeer,
Of the turtle, crane and beaver."

L. C. D.

4th. They have and ever have had, the possession of the land, and intend to keep it. I know that they are very particular in making every person who wishes to cut timber on that tract, *obtain their permission* to do so, and to obtain payment for it. In the month of May last, some Frenchmen brought a large raft of red cedar timber out of the Chippewa river, which timber was cut on the tract before mentioned. The Indians at one of the villages on the Mississippi, where the principal chief resided, compelled the Frenchmen to land the raft, and would not permit them to pass until they had received *pay for the timber*; and the Frenchmen were compelled to leave their raft with the Indians until they went to Prairie du Chien and obtained the necessary articles, and made the payment required.

I am Sir, very Respectfully,

Your obedient Servant,

H. Leavenworth.

To Josiah Meigs, Esq., Commissioner, etc., etc., etc.

Indian Grant to Captain Carver

Communicated to the Senate, January 23, 1823.

Mr. Van Dyke, from the committee on Public Lands, to whom was referred the petition of Samuel Harrison, agent for the heirs of Captain Jonathan Carver, praying for the recognition and confirmation of an Indian deed for a large tract of land near St. Anthony's Falls, on the Mississippi; and also the petition of Rev. Samuel Peters, LL. D., who claims said tract of land as assignee of the heirs of Captain Carver, and prays that he may be permitted to take possession of the same, reported:

The petitioners state that Capt. Jonathan Carver, in the year 1766, took a long tour among the Indian tribes, two hundred miles west of the Falls of St. Anthony, on the Mississippi, and made important discoveries during his travels and residence of two years and five months with various Indian tribes, which he caused to be printed and published in London in 1773.*

That by his conciliatory manners he gained the good will of

* Evidently a mis-print for 1778. L. C. D.

the Indian tribes, and became the peace-maker between two large nations who were at war; and to reward him for his wisdom and friendly interposition, the sachems of the Naudowissies were pleased to grant, and accordingly gave to him and his heirs a deed for a tract of land therein specially described, dated at the Great Cave, May the first, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven; that the chief of said tribe made him a chief of their tribe on the same day, and he then engaged to return and settle in the said territory with his family and connexions. (An alleged copy of said deed is inserted in the first mentioned petition.) That Captain Jonathan Carver afterwards returned to Boston, and sailed for London, where he arrived in the year seventeen hundred and sixty-nine, and soon after laid his deed before the British Government, praying for the confirmation of it, and received for answer, that it should be confirmed as soon as the history of his travels was printed and published. But in consequence of the misunderstanding which existed between Great Britain and America, the ratification of the deed was suspended. That Captain J. Carver died in London, January 31st, 1780, leaving a numerous progeny; and, by the establishment of the independence of America, the right to ratify Indian grants devolved on the United States.

The Rev. Samuel Peters in his petition further states, that Lefei, the present Emperor of the Sioux and Naudowissies, and Red Wing, a sachem, the heirs and successors of the two grand chiefs who signed the said deed to Captain Carver, have given satisfactory and positive proof that they allowed their ancestors' deed to be genuine, good and valid, and that Captain Carver's heirs and assigns are the owners of said territory, and may occupy it free of all molestation.

The committee have examined and considered the claim thus exhibited by the petitioners, and remark that the original deed is not produced, nor any competent legal evidence offered of its execution; nor is there any proof that the persons who it is alleged made the deed, were the chiefs of same tribe, nor that (if chiefs) they had authority to grant and give away the land belonging to their tribe. The paper annexed to their petition as a copy of said deed, has no subscribing witnesses, and it would

seem impossible, at this remote period, to ascertain the important fact, that the persons who signed the deed comprehended and understood the meaning and effect of their act.

The want of proof as to these facts would interpose in the way of the claimants insuperable difficulties. But, in the opinion of the committee, the claim is not such as the United States are under any obligation to allow, even if the deed were proved in legal form. The British Government before the time when the alleged deed bears date, had deemed it prudent and necessary, for the preservation of peace with the Indian tribes under their sovereignty, protection and dominion, to prevent British subjects from purchasing lands from the Indians; and this rule of policy was made known and enforced by the proclamation of the King of Great Britain, of 7th October, 1763, which contains an express prohibition. Captain Carver, aware of the law, and knowing that such a contract could not vest the legal title in him, applied to the British Government to ratify and confirm the Indian grant, and though it was competent for that Government then to confirm the grant and vest the title of said land in him, yet, from some cause, that Government did not think proper to do so. The territory has since become the property of the United States, and an Indian grant not good against the British Government would appear to be not binding upon the United States Government. What benefit the British Government derived from the services of Captain Carver by his travels and residence among the Indians, that Government alone could determine, and alone could judge what remuneration those services deserved. One fact appears from the declaration of Mr. Peters, in his statement in writing among the papers exhibited, namely, that the British Government did give Captain Carver the sum of one thousand three hundred and seventy-five pounds, six shillings and eight pence sterling. To the United States, however, Captain Carver rendered no service which could be assumed as an equitable ground for the support of the petitioner's claim. The committee being of opinion that the United States are not bound in law or equity to confirm the said alleged Indian grant, recommend the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That the prayer of the petitioners ought not to be granted.

Indian Grant to Captain Carver

Communicated to the House of Representatives, Jan. 28, 1825.

Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, from the committee on Private Land Claims, to whom were referred the petition and documents of Dr. Samuel Peters, reported:

That the petitioner represents that he has acquired the title to a large tract of country, usually called "Carver's grant," situated on the east side of the Mississippi river, beginning at the Falls of St. Anthony, and running down the margin nearly southeast to the mouth of the Chippewa river; thence easterly, one hundred miles; thence north, one hundred and twenty miles; thence on a straight line to the place of beginning. That this grant was made to Captain Jonathan Carver on May 1, 1767, by two chiefs of the tribe of Naudowissies, in consideration of distinguished services rendered by him while in their country; that Captain Carver went to England in the year 1770, and solicited the King to ratify his said grant; that his Majesty and Lords of his Council, in the year 1775, granted his petition, and ordered him to return to America and take possession of his land thus conveyed to him; that before the necessary preparations for his departure could be made, the information of the battle of Bunker Hill was received, which entirely frustrated his intended enterprise; that Carver lived overwhelmed with sorrows until the 31st of January, 1780, when he died, leaving a widow and seven children; that in the month of November, in the year 1806, he purchased of the heirs of Carver all their right to the said tract of country, and obtained a deed therefor; that after being baffled in various attempts to obtain from the Indians a recognition of his title as he had been advised to do by a committee of Congress, he set out for New York in June, 1817, to visit Red Wing and Lefei, two chiefs residing near the Falls of St. Anthony; that in the autumn of the same year, he met with Lefei,* the

* Lefei, or Lefoy, also mentioned in the preceding report of Mr. Van Dyke, as the Emperor of the Sioux, was none other than Wa-ba-shaw, called by the French La Feuille, or The Leaf—Lefei, or Lefoy, had, in some way, grown out of the name, Leaf, or Falling Leaf, as he was sometimes called. The Wa-ba-shaw who figured in the War of 1812, and referred to by Dr. Peters, was probably a son of Wa-ba-shaw, "the great Cloux chief." during the Revolutionary War; if so, according to Dr. Peters' theory, the elder Wa-ba-shaw was one of the grantors to the Carver deed. This statement, however, is scarcely worthy of much consideration. Pike, in his *Travels*, in 1806, speaks of the *Gens les Feuilles* as one of the Sioux bands. The late Col. John Shaw, who knew Wa-ba-shaw about the period of 1818-25, mentions the fact, that the French called him La Feuille, or *The Leaf;* and Augustin Grignon, also in his narrative, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, 271, spoke of him as Wa-ba-shaw, or *The Leaf.* L. C. D.

son of one of the grantors, at Prairie du Chien, who declared in presence of several persons, that his father and uncle signed with their mark, the conveyance to Carver at the Great Cave, on May 1, 1767; and also that when he could see Red Wing, they would make their marks on paper, and thus satisfy Congress; that after Lefei was gone, Red Wing came to Prairie du Chien, and made a similar declaration; that he afterwards saw three squaws, each about eighty years of age, who asserted that they knew Captain Carver, and were at the Great Cave when the Sachems made him the grant, and that it is called "Carver land;" wherefore the petitioner prays that his title may be confirmed.

The petitioner exhibits, in support of his claim, a copy of the alleged deed to Captain Carver, unaccompanied, however, by the ordinary proofs of verity. It is substantially as follows: That two chiefs of the Naudowissies, one by the sign of the snake, and the other by that of the tortoise, on May 1, 1767, conveyed to Capt. Jonathan Carver the tract of country as described in the petition, in return for presents and services, reserving for themselves and their heirs the liberty of hunting and fishing on the lands not improved by the grantee and his heirs. The petitioner also adduces the copy of an instrument purporting to have been executed at Lac Travers, on February 17, 1821, by four Indians, who called themselves chiefs and warriors of the Naudowissie tribe. By this writing they declare a grant was made by their fathers to Capt. Carver, for a tract of land situated at the Falls of St. Anthony, and that they have a traditional record thereof. These chiefs acknowledged their willingness that the claimants under Carver, should be confirmed in their title.

Dr. Peters himself has made oath, that he was in London in 1774, and was present when Carver solicited of the King a ratification of his title; that after much enquiry and deliberation, the King gave him a gratuity of £1,373, 6s., 8d., and ordered him to prepare to proceed to New Orleans in the ensuing June, with 150 men, to take possession of his grant; that when things were in a state of preparation, the news of the battle of Bunker Hill was received, which entirely prohibited the projected voyage. These facts, with many others not supposed by the com-

mittee necessary to be detailed, were sworn to by Dr. Peters, in the year 1806, at which time the heirs of Carver petitioned Congress, and also again on September 25, 1824. It is stated to the committee, that the original deed, which had been left with Dr. Lettsom, of London, was supposed to have been stolen, and is lost, and that the copy which appeared in the first* edition of "Carver's Journal," is correct.

Dr. Peters submits sundry letters, which he has at different times received from gentlemen in the Upper Mississippi country. One appears to have been written from the Falls of Black River, on the 10th of November, 1819, by Constant A. Andrews, who states that a few days before he had put in operation a saw mill thirty or forty miles from Lake Pepin, in an eastwardly direction; that seven chiefs of the Sioux Nation gave him permission to settle and remain there for five years, which term Lefei, the chief, extended forever. He informs Dr. Peters that it is certain, the chiefs Lefei, Petit Corbeau and Red Wing, admit the validity of the grant to Carver. Another correspondent of the name of Keyes, writes to Dr. Peters, from Prairie du Chien, on the 7th of June, 1818, that he had seen Red Wing, who had a distinct recollection of Carver; that this chief informed him the Snake and Tortoise† who signed Carver's deed, were his uncles, and that he was willing to sanction their acts, although he could not do so without consulting Lefei, and the Little Raven (Petit Corbeau), who outranked him.

Dr. Peters himself makes oath that he had seen Lefei and Red Wing, the heirs and successors of the two chiefs who gave Carver the deed; that they declared through an interpreter, that it was good and valid, and the land covered by it, the property of Carver, his heirs and assigns, who were at liberty to take possession thereof in peace and quietness. The foregoing statements are the strongest proofs with which the committee had been favored by Dr. Peters; he had not exhibited the deed of conveyance to himself, though it is believed he has one.

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* Really the third edition, 1781. L. C. D.

† We have already adverted to the fact that the *totems* of a snake and a tortoise, added to the Indian signatures, usually designated their tribal connection; and Carver says the meaning of the name of the one was, *The Great Father of Snakes;* while that of the other implied, *A Swift Runner over the Mountains*—certainly not characteristic of a tortoise; yet it may be that chiefs of the names of The Snake and The Tortoise once figured among the Sioux. L. C. D.

This case presents two questions for consideration. 1st. Did the Indians represented to be chiefs of the Naudowissie tribe, execute the deed under which the petitioner claims? 2d. Assuming the fact that they did, is the government of the United States bound to satisfy the claim?

It appears to the committee, the proof submitted is of too weak and dubious a character to justify an affirmative answer to the first question. To the conveyance there were no subscribing witnesses, nor is it known that Carver himself ever made oath to its genuineness. Although he may have petitioned the King for relief in the recognition of his title, there is no evidence that his application was successful; had it been, it is presumable the exhibition of testimony to that effect would not be difficult—the records of England would not be silent.

Dr. Peters states that the committee appointed on the part of the Senate, in 1806, to investigate this case, informed him that if the successors of the *Snake* and *Tortoise* chiefs would recognize the claim of Carver, there would be nothing further needed to sustain the petition; and that, in consequence of this information, he spared no pains to obviate the difficulty. As that committee consisted of gentlemen highly respectable for talent, it is difficult to comprehend the reason why such advice was given. Surely, at that period of our Government, a mode of acquiring Indian lands different from that now pursued, could not have been conceived; it is much more probable Dr. Peters labored under a misapprehension; it seems, however, he visited the Upper Mississippi country for the purpose of obtaining the Indian recognition, and also had agents in his employ. Here, it may be remarked, the testimony he obtained is not accompanied by those solemnities which are deemed indispensable. The statements, with the exception of his own, are not made on oath, and his ought to be excluded from consideration, on the ground of interest. The facility with which interested persons or interpreters might practice frauds on the Indians demands the strictest scrutiny; no testimony should be received which does not come in an unquestionable shape. If the four Indians did sign the instrument at Lac Travers, as has been represented, they may possibly have been deceived as to the contents, or been influenced

by some improper motive. It is scarcely supposable that they felt themselves bound by a contract made half a century ago. In that region of country the aborigines knew too well the value of their territories to dispose of them without a suitable compensation.

Captain Carver's Journal, which was published first in the year 1773,* is, as the committee believe, entirely silent in relation to the grant. He records with some degree of minuteness many events which took place about the time the instrument bears date. He describes the country between Lake Pepin and the Falls of St. Anthony as possessing many natural advantages. Indeed on the very day it appears to have been given, a council was held at the Big Cave by several tribes of Indians; many chiefs attended, and he delivered a speech which he has communicated to the world. Is it not a little extraordinary that he should have forborne to journalize a fact so interesting to himself, the Indians, and his country? Not knowing precisely when the grant first made its appearance, the committee are in no wise disposed to say they are suspicious of an ante-date.

To counteract the facts stated by Dr. Peters and his friends, the committee will refer to a letter addressed by Col. Leavenworth, on the 28th of July, 1821, to the late Commissioner of the General Land Office. The writer informs him that "the Indians do not recognize or acknowledge the grant (Carver's) to be valid. They say they have no knowledge of any such chiefs as those who have signed the grant; that if he did obtain a deed or grant, it was signed by some foolish young men who were not chiefs, and who were not authorized to make the grant."

Major Long and his party ascended the Mississippi river in the summer of 1823, and had frequent interviews with the Indians and their chiefs. They were at the village of Red Wing (Aile Rouge), and whom *they* generally called Shakea; he lies on the west bank of the river, a short distance above Lake Pepin. The Petit Corbeau (Little Raven†) resides ten miles below the mouth of the St. Peter's, and both are distinguished chiefs of the Dacotas. Renville, Major Long's interpreter, whose mother was a squaw, was well acquainted with the Indi-

* Really 1778. L. C. D.

ans on the Mississippi and the rivers tributary near the Falls of St. Anthony and Lake Pepin. His statements and those of the Indians induced Major Long and the gentlemen associated with him to give the following information: "It is, we believe, clearly proved at present, that the lands which he (Carver) claimed by virtue of a grant from the Indians was never conveyed to him by them. Attempts were made, in 1817, by two of his grandsons to have the claim recognized by some of the Indians now living; they ascended the river where Major Long did, but were not successful. An instrument purporting to be the original treaty was afterwards sent to Canada, and placed in Renville's hands by those who had an interest in the claim. He was requested to show it and explain its nature to the Indians, and to endeavor to obtain a confirmation of it from them; but, as he informed us, he could find no individual among them who had the least recollection or tradition of this conveyance, or of the names which are purported to have been affixed to the deed. The Indians say there were no chiefs among them of the name." Major Long even doubts whether Carver resided among the Naudowissies five months, and assigns his reason for the opinion. See p. 325 of his *Journal of 1823*.

Although a negative answer to the first question may seem to render a further discussion unnecessary, the committee have thought it proper to offer a few considerations on the second branch of the inquiry. In the case of Johnson against McIntosh, reported in 8 Wheaton, the question is settled beyond controversy. This was an action of ejectment brought for the recovery of lands in the State of Illinois, claimed by the plaintiff under a purchase and conveyance from the Piankeshaw Indians, and held by the defendant under a grant from the United States. Chief Justice Marshall, who delivered the opinion of the court, says, "While the different nations of Europe respected the rights of natives as occupants, they asserted the ultimate dominion to be in themselves, and exercised the power to grant the soil while in the possession of the natives. These grants have been understood by all to convey the title subject to the Indian right of occupancy. This Government has always acted on the same principle. While it recognized the Indian right of

occupancy, it claimed the fee; and the treaties by which we have acquired the possession of such extensive regions of country involve this principle. The consideration paid appears to be intended merely as an equivalent for the peaceable surrender of the possession."

By the treaty of 1783, which terminated the Revolutionary War, Great Britain ceded to the United States a vast extent of territory in the North-West, to which the Indian title had not been extinguished. The legality of the cession has never been doubted, nor, indeed, can it be. As the "Carver Grant" is situated within our limits, as defined by the treaty, we are in the same situation in relation to it in which was the British Government. The petitioner shows that Carver solicited a ratification of his claim; this is conclusive evidence that he himself believed it defective. Whether success would have attended his application to the extent of his wishes had hostilities not taken place, is mere matter of conjecture. Certainly it is a claim, the acknowledgment of which by this Government is not founded in right. The policy which dictated the proclamation of 1763 is unexceptionable. By that measure all private persons were interdicted the liberty of purchasing lands from the Indians. The indulgence of such a privilege, it had been ascertained, conduced to serious difficulties. The most reprehensible frauds had been practiced on the natives. Their avarice and propensity for ardent spirits had been but too successfully addressed. At the time Captain Carver explored the country about the Falls of St. Anthony, this proclamation was recent, and in all probability known to him. With this knowledge of the prudence and caution of his country, he was among the first to offend.

Fully impressed that it would be highly improper to confirm the claim of the petitioner, or that of any other person who may attempt to profit by the grant to Carver, the committee recommend the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That the prayer of the petitioner be not granted.

A Copy of a Certificate of Dr. J. C. Lettsom, dated London, January 31, 1804.

I certify that the printed copy of a grant of land in America, by two Indian chiefs, to Captain Jonathan Carver, deceased, prefixed to his *Travels*, published in London, in the year 1782, was literally and accurately copied from a manuscript paper in the possession of his widow, Mary Carver, who declared to me that it was an original grant, conveyed to her husband by the said Indians named in the printed copy, with the facsimile or mark of each Indian.

JOHN COAKLEY LETTSOM.

Attest: SAMUEL PETERS.

LONDON, January 31, 1804.

A true copy of a paper sent to me from London, by Mrs. Martha Pope.

SAMUEL HARRISON.

A Copy of an Affidavit of the Reverend Samuel Peters, LL.D., sent to me from London, in 1805.

The Reverend Samuel Peters, LL.D., testifies, and says that he was intimately acquainted with Captain Jonathan Carver, in London, from January, 1775, until January 31, 1780, when said Carver died, and was buried in the Parish of Shoreditch. That said Carver often showed to the deponent his papers: among them was a deed of a large tract of land lying on the east side of the Mississippi, and adjoining to the Falls of St. Anthony, granted to said Carver by two Indian chiefs, and signed with their signets, one marked in shape of a mud turtle, and the other a snake, with Indian ink.

Said Carver told this deponent that said deed was genuine, and was verily signed by the two sachems whose names were annexed to their signets; and that said deed had been laid before His Majesty, Lord Sandwich and Lord North, etc., etc., who doubted not the authenticity, though without witnesses, because the signets were marked with such ink as was not known to them, and could not be imitated, as they believed by any person

in christendom. That government promised him the royal ratification of said deed, and had omitted doing so, only because of the troubles then existing in America. And this deponent further says, that Dr. Lettsom and this deponent attended said Carver in his last sickness; and this deponent heard said Carver express his hopes that his Majesty would ratify the deed for the good of his children, and for the good of the nation; as a settlement in that quarter by the English, would secure the friendship and commerce of the Indian tribes to the western ocean, and tend greatly to civilize an innumerable multitude of innocent and ignorant people. And further the deponent saith not.

SAMUEL PETERS.

Sworn before me, at Union Hall, April 19, 1805.

PETER BROADLEY.

A true copy. Attest:

SAMUEL HARRISON.

Questions proposed to the Reverend Dr. Samuel Peters, before the honorable committee from the Senate, to whom was referred the petition of Samuel Harrison, praying the Legislature to recognize an Indian deed, granting to Captain Jonathan Carver, a tract of land near St. Anthony's Falls on the Mississippi.

Question. How long is it since you knew Captain Jonathan Carver?

Answer. I knew Captain Jonathan Carver in 1755, in the Colony of Connecticut.

Question. How long did you know him in England?

Answer. Ever since my second arrival in London, 1774, until January 31, 1780, when he died.

Question. Did you ever see an Indian deed of some land near St. Anthony's Falls, given by two sachems to Captain Carver?

Answer. Captain Carver showed to me at London a deed of a tract of land lying eastwardly of St. Anthony's Falls, in A. D. 1775, signed with the signets of two chiefs of the Naudowissie Nation, dated at the Great Cave, May 1, A. D. 1767. The signets were a tortoise and a snake.

Question. By whom was it written?

Answer. The names of the two Indian chiefs and the deed were in the handwriting of Captain Carver, without any witnesses to the deed.

Question. Did you ever hear Captain Carver tell the reason why no witnesses were annexed to the deed?

Answer. Yes; I asked him why he had no witnesses to the deed? He replied: I had with me only one Canadian Frenchman, and one Indian guide, neither of whom could read or write; and if they had made their marks I must have written their names; therefore I thought the signets of the Indian chiefs would be better proof to the Naudowissie tribe than all other proofs.

Question. Do you not think there is reason to believe the deed was a forgery by Captain Carver; if not, what are your reasons?

Answer. No. Because Captain Carver always supported a moral and religious character both in New and Old England; and he told me the signets were verily made by the two Indian sachems. Besides, Captain Carver was a man of great abilities and good sense, which would teach him that he could have no interest or advantage by a forged deed had it been ratified by the British Government on his petition in 1770; for the Indians would not have suffered him to take possession of a territory of theirs under a false deed, which Carver well knew; and yet he petitioned the British Government to ratify the said Indian deed to him, that he might go and take possession of said land in a legal manner to recompense him for all his dangers, travels and expense. Further, had Carver known the deed to be a forgery, he would have asked a pecuniary reward for his discoveries, instead of asking for a ratification of a false deed, which he knew could never be of any use or benefit to himself or heirs. Carver petitioned for a ratification of his deed that he might go and settle under the crown on the territory, according to his agreement with the Indians in 1767, and did not petition for a *pecuniary reward,* which he might have received.

Question. Did you ever see any other writing of Captain Carver's besides that deed from the Indians to Carver?

Answer. Yes—many.

Question. Does this writing look like Captain Carver's writing? (Here was presented a part of a letter to his wife, dated London, Sept. 19, 1770.)

Answer. Yes; and I know it to be his handwriting, as well as I know my own writing.

Question. Did you know that Captain Carver petitioned the British Government for a ratification of an Indian deed to Carver, of some land near St. Anthony's Falls?

Answer. In the year 1775 Captain Carver showed me a copy of a petition of his to the British Government, praying for a confirmation of a deed from two sachems of the tribes of the Naudowissies, of a large tract of land on the east side of the Mississippi river, near St. Anthony's Falls, which was founded on the Indian deed dated May 1, 1767. He begged my influence with Lord North, Lord Dartmouth and Lord Sandwich to have it ratified as soon as possible.

Question. Did you advocate Carver's petition with those Lords?

Answer. Yes; and but for the Declaration of Independence of the thirteen States of America, in 1776, his petition would have been granted; and Captain Carver, with myself and others, should have sailed to New Orleans to explore the Mississippi and Missouri rivers to their sources, according to our appointment under the British Government.

Question. Did you ever hear that any doubt was entertained by the above-named Lords, or any other person in England, respecting the authenticity of the Indian deed to Captain Carver?

Answer. I never did.

Question. Who attended Captain Carver when he died; and what did Carver then say?

Answer. Dr. Lettsom and myself; and Carver committed his papers to Dr. Lettsom, and wished that Lettsom and I might pursue the petition, and secure the ratification of the Indian deed for the benefit of his children and country.

Question. What took place after Carver's death touching the territory?

Answer. Dr. Lettsom hired an engraver to take off the signets of the two Indian chiefs, and had them printed with the In-

dian deed to Carver in the third edition of Carver's *Travels;* and, in 1783, the merchants of London petitioned Lord Shelburne not to form a peace without saving to the British merchants the right of navigating the Mississippi and its waters for the sake of the peltry and fur-trade; and the merchant's petition was granted.

Question. After the peace of 1783, what followed respecting the Mississippi and Carver's claim?

Answer. The merchants of England met and agreed to send a number of persons up the Missouri and the Mississippi to St. Anthony's Falls (among whom I was one), and failed only because of the armament against Spain, and then against Russia.

Question. Dr. Lettsom says in his third edition of Carver's *Travels,* that the original deed was in his possession in 1782; do you know why that original deed has been missing?

Answer. In consequence of a letter from S. Harrison, Esq., I applied to Dr. Lettsom, in 1804, for the original deed, in order to send it to Rufus Carver, of Vermont State; and Dr. Lettsom said it had been taken out of his possession by some person not in his power to discover; yet he had reason to believe, one of his servants had been hired to steal it, because all other papers belonging to Carver were still with him.

Question. What use could any one make of said Indian deed after stealing it?

Answer. Mr. C. & Co., as I was told by Dr. Lettsom and others, believed the land in question belonged to Martha Carver, who was deemed the only child surviving Captain Carver. On that ground Mr. C. & Co., induced Martha to leave the house of Lady Pearson, her benefactrix and foster-mother, who had adopted Martha as her own child, and clandestinely to marry a young sailor, and then prevailed on her and her husband to take letters of administration at Doctor's Commons on Captain Carver's estate. The next day C. & Co. prevailed on Martha and her husband, as administrators, to constitute Mr. C. their agent, and, by the same instrument, sold and conveyed all the territory mentioned in the Indian deed to Captain Carver, reserving only one-tenth to Martha and her husband.

Question. After the sale of land to C. & Co., what was done?

Answer. Mr. C. & Co. sent Mr. Clark with goods and money, nearly the value of £2,000 sterling, to New York; and from thence he was ordered to visit the Naudowissies and procure a new deed of the land to Mr. C. & Co. Clark on his route toward Niagara was murdered and robbed, and the murderer was discovered and hanged at Albany.

Question. What effect had the death of Mr. Clark with the claim and deed given to Carver by the two Indian chiefs?

Answer. That sad catastrophe to Mr. Clark proved fatal to Mr. C. & Co., as was believed by Sir Richard Pearson, Dr. Lettsom, Dr. Pearson and others; for it was their opinion that Mr. Clark had the original deed with him when he was murdered and robbed, and, therefore, C. & Co. ceased to pursue Carver's claim any further.

Question. Do you know Mr. C. & Co.?

Answer. I know Mr. C. only.

Question. Did you ask Mr. C. for the original deed?

Answer. I asked him for the original deed, and he declined giving me an answer, but said he had laid out about £3,000 sterling for his share in that business of Captain Carver.

Samuel Peters.

City of Washington—*District of Columbia.*

Personally appeared before me the Reverend Dr. Peters, who signed the above answers in my presence, and made oath, on the Holy Evangels of Almighty God, that the answers given to the preceding questions contain to the best of his knowledge and belief, the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

Sworn, this 25th March, 1806, before

William Thornton, *Justice of the Peace.*

The affidavit contained on these sheets and signed Samuel Peters, was, in substance, testified by him before the committee of the Senate appointed on the petition of Samuel Harrison, agent for the heirs of Captain Jona. Carver, and it was sworn to before Mr. Justice Thornton, because the committee conceived they had not authority to administer an oath.

Israel Smith, *Chairman.*

Washington, April 25, 1806.

Prairie du Chien, 7th June, 1818.

Reverend and Dear Sir: Agreeably to your request, I improve the first opportunity of conveying a letter to you by the way of Mackinaw, and with greater pleasure, as I can speak with confidence on the prospect of a speedy acknowledgment of "Carver's purchase," by the Chiefs of the Sioux Nation. About the first of June, Red Wing (the chief who resides at Lake Pepin), arrived here and encamped on the island opposite the town. We have had several private interviews with him, and the substance of our intelligence, as interpreted by Mr. Campbell, is as follows:

That the land from St. Anthony's Falls to Lake Pepin (saving Carver's claim), is the property of him and the Little Crow. The chiefs who signed Carver's deed (the Tortoise and the Snake) were his uncles. He well remembers Carver and the sale of the land; says he is willing to confirm the deed of his ancestors, but says he must first consult Lefoy and Curbo, who rank before him. He has proceeded up the river, and promised to return with Lefoy the latter end of this month.

He appears to be between sixty and seventy years of age; is reputed by those who know him to be an honest man, and that his word may be depended on.

I regret your absence at this time, as your age corresponding with theirs, and being the immediate representative and acquaintance of Carver, I think would inspire them with greater confidence. However, we will manage as well as we can; and I think you will only have to wait the permission of our Government to take possession of your right.

Since you left this place there have been seven arrivals at different times from St. Louis, among whom were Mr. Boilvin (who is now Indian agent and a civil magistrate), Colonel McNair, Major Fowler, Mr. Shaw, and Lieutenant (now Captain) Hickman and lady. In two hours after his arrival, Colonel Chambers started for St. Louis; whether he will return, I do not know. Hickman now commands this post.

On the 25th ultimo, I commenced a school in this village; have about thirty scholars, mostly bright and active, at two dollars a

month. I board with your old landlord, Mr. Faribault, but have to regret the loss of your company.

I have engaged for three months, and before the expiration of that time, I trust your business will be amicably settled with the Indians.

Dear Sir, accept my best wishes for your welfare—hope you had a pleasanter passage returning than you had coming out; that you met with a welcome reception among your friends I have no doubt. May God preserve your life for the benefit of mankind; and when the measure of your useful days is filled, the possession of a self-approving conscience will blunt the sting of death and waft your welcome spirit to realms of endless happiness and peace.

My respects to your son and his amiable family, with whom I had the pleasure of a short acquaintance; likewise to all your friends who feel solicitous of your welfare.

I conclude by respectfully subscribing myself ever yours, to serve,

WILLARD KEYES.

Rev. Dr. S. Peters.

P. S. I would just mention to you that Mr. Tuthill's character has been roughly handled, especially since Major Fowler's arrival; they say he has nearly ruined him. I have made no inquiries on the subject, but expect he will have to bear all the blame, whether guilty or not. I hope you will not mention this to his discredit, but, if you please, tear it off.

June 10. Mr. Crooks arrived yesterday, ten days from Mackinaw; said he met you in good health. He proceeds from here to St. Louis. I have nothing new to write, but shall close my letter this morning and forward it by Mr. Palen. Hope you will be kind enough to write when convenient. May the blessing of God attend you. Yours,

W. KEYES.

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN, February 1, 1819.

DEAR SIR:—Mr. Mann arrived here last summer, and is still waiting. He found the Indians were willing to give up the lands. He immediately sent to his brother-in-law, to get permission to hold a council with them; has not got any return as

yet. You have probably got the certificates of D. Campbell, of Lefoy and Red Wing. I can say but little more. Red Wing when here, always called on me every day. Says to every one that the land belongs to us, and we must have it. I have made him and his family what little presents I could. Red Wing when here, soon after you left here, insisted to go to Mr. Boilvin's and tell him the situation of it. He went. Mr. Boilvin asked him, in presence of Captains Hickman and Armstrong, if he knew anything respecting the sale to Carver, or deed being given. He said, he being young, did not recollect anything of any papers, but knew that his two uncles gave Carver the lands. Mr. Boilvin then stopped. Red Wing wished to explain the whole transaction. Mr. Boilvin said he had nothing to do in the business—did not like to have any more said; but observed, you go to give away all your lands—the Americans will be so thick there you cannot live. Red Wing was not well satisfied. It is now as public, and as well understood, as your newspapers. It is no harm to talk to them now. Times have changed very much since you left here. Mr. Keyes has gone up to —— after timber, in company with G. McNair; asked Mr. Boilvin's permission. Mr. Boilvin said there was no need of any, as any one could go. When you were here no one could speak; but now we can say as much as we please. Mr. Johnson and I have differed very much since you left here; but we have all given it up, and I now say what I please respecting it.

Mr. Bartelle has returned. First day of January was ordered off again; has built him a house on a small island about a mile from the Manor, and I am now building a saw-mill in company with him on Yellow river, under a permission I obtained from the commanding officer, which I hope will be a running as soon as you get here, which we are anxiously waiting. For my own part I apprehend no difficulty, if you obtain permission from the Secretary of War, and can make them some presents. The young Indians have asked Lefoy and the other chiefs to try to get two boat loads of goods if possible. I have wrote to Mr. Tuthill.

I am, as ever, yours,

CONSTANT A. ANDREWS.

Rev. S. Peters.

N. B.—Mr. Johnson, in one of our spats, said if you obtained permission from the Secretary, there would be no difficulty.

FALLS, BLACK RIVER, November 10, 1819.

DEAR SIR:—On the second day of November, I set a sawmill a running, not much inferior to any in the United States. This river takes its rise near the northeast corner of your tract. The mill is about thirty or forty miles east from Lake Pepin.

The Sioux very willingly gave us permission to come here. There were seven chiefs in council—Lefoy was not there. The seven gave us five years. Lefoy came soon after, and gave it forever. I am very much pleased with my situation. I was obliged, on account of iron, to go to the Prairie once, but was overjoyed on my arrival back, and now regret to leave sight of the mill. There is a fort built at the mouth of St. Peter's river. Perseverance is all that is necessary to get possession now. The commanding officer lets any one go that wishes. Mr. Faribault has gone with his family up a little above Lake Pepin. All mountains have become plains, and all our paths are peace. Your return would be more pleasant than before. We have been expecting you this last summer very much.

You will have no better time than the present to settle your lands. The Indians are now willing. They give up the idea of living here, except the old ones. If you see Julius, or can send him, I wish you would urge him to come here, as I cannot do all the business myself.

If the company intend me to take part of the tract, I shall be ready to meet their wishes. If I could get Julius here, I would take time to explore the whole tract.

One thing is certain, that if Lefoy, Curbo and Red Wing acknowledge the grant to Carver, for my own part I don't see who can get it from us. I am willing to risk a suit on my part for the title, if the United States wish.

I am, as ever, yours,

Rev. S. Peters. CONSTANT A. ANDREWS.

N. B.—I shall expect you in the spring. Do bring Julius P. Andrews with you. Here I am happy to live—here I am willing to die.

JANUARY 3, 1820.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:—I took your letter from St. Louis post-office but a few days since, dated January 22, 1819. The negligence of postmasters in detaining or delaying letters thus almost a year, cannot be too severely reprobated. However, at this late period, I would congratulate you on your safe arrival among your friends and family. I am highly gratified to discover in your style of writing that persevering principle which has ever marked your conduct, and will, in the end, I hope and trust, ultimately succeed.

During the summer of 1818, I wrote two letters to you, in which I stated what I then had reason to believe, from the information of Mr. Campbell, that your business might be brought to a favorable issue, provided you had the sanction of the General Government in writing; otherwise, we could go no further. I remained at Prairie du Chien till May, 1819, when despairing of hearing from you, and believing it to be of no use to remain longer in this expensive place, I came down the river, and am now in Madison county, State of Illinois. I have been sick several months, but am now gaining health and strength.

Mr. Andrews still perseveres in the Indian country. He has been employed the summer past in building a saw-mill on Black river, the mouth of which is 100 miles above Prairie du Chien. I shall forward the letter I received from you to him by the first opportunity.

I must now conclude, by wishing you health and happiness for years to come.

Yours respectfully,

Rev. Samuel Peters, LL. D. WILLARD KEYES.

The deponent, Samuel Peters, clerk in holy orders, under solemn oath testifies and says: He was in London, A. D. 1774, and saw Captain Jonathan Carver, a native of Canterbury, in the colony of Connecticut, in New England, and knew he had laid a petition before his Majesty George III, praying his Majesty to approve of, and ratify, a certain deed of a tract of land to himself, heirs and assigns forever, given by two Indian chiefs

of the Naudowissie tribes, dated at the Great Cave, on May 1st, 1767, lying on the east side of Mississippi river, near the Falls of St. Anthony, and Lake Pepin, which could not be approved or ratified by any governor in any of his Majesty's colonies in North America, because the land laid not within any British colony; and all governors were forbid by a proclamation of King Charles II, dated October 7, 1663.*

The deponent saith further, that the King and Lords of his council held a court in the month of February, A. D. 1775, on the petition of said Carver, and ordered said Carver, Mr. Iron, Carver's counsellor, learned in the law, and this deponent, to attend, and they obeyed. The court asked said Carver, Is this your petition? Carver answered, Yes. The court asked Carver, Is this deed from the two sachems to you genuine, *bona fide,* upon your honor? Carver answered, Yes, genuine, *bona fide,* upon my honor. After many other questions to Carver, the court asked Mr. Iron: As you have drawn Carver's petition, and seen all his papers, have you discovered any reason why the prayer of Carver's petition ought not to be granted? Mr. Iron answered, I have not. The court then asked this deponent: How long have you known the petitioner and his character? The deponent answered, from A. D. 1754; he was born in Canterbury in the colony of Connecticut, near where I was born; he is great grandson of John Carver, the first English governor that settled at Plymouth, in New England, A. D. 1620. He served as Captain under General Lyman, in Connecticut troops, against Canada, in the war of 1755, and supported a brave character during that war, and ever after a moral character. He served also under General Wolfe, in taking Quebec, and under General Amherst in taking Montreal and all Canada. He also suffered at Fort William Henry. After the peace, made in 1763, he traveled in the North-Western part of North America with two servants, one a Frenchman, the other a Mohawk, to visit the distant Indians, and discovered a country where no white man had ever been seen before.

Question by the court. Do you believe the Indians would give so much land to Carver for his services and presents? The deponent answered, yes; for the Indians are generous and

* The Proclamation of George III Oct. 7, 1763, must be the one referred to. L. C. D.

grateful to their friends and benefactors, and Captain Carver was their friend and benefactor, and made peace between them and other powerful tribes which was worth to them more than the territory given in their deed; and besides the Indians had lands and wilderness enough, and they loved Carver, and wanted him to settle and abide with them as a *sachem* and *protector*, which he promised to do.*

Question by the court. Of what religion is Captain Carver? The deponent answered. He is by profession an Ana-baptist, and deemed to be a good and honest man, and worthy of full credit in his native country.

Then was read Lord Amherst's certificate, viz.: "I knew Jonathan Carver in America, of the troops from Connecticut, under my command, to be a brave and faithful officer and soldier."

Then Carver, Iron and this deponent were ordered to retire in another room; after some time, were again called before the court, and the minister said to Captain Carver: "His Majesty has graciously granted your petition, and has ordered a gratuity of £1,373, 6s. 8d. to be paid to you, and that you prepare to sail for New Orleans next June, and take possession of your territory, with *one hundred and fifty* men, of whom you will be the commander; and his Majesty will provide ships, men and necessaries to convey you there." Captain Carver received the money; and all things were making ready when news arrived of the battle of Bunker's Hill, which put a stop to Carver's return. After leaving the court, Mr. Iron said to Captain Carver, "I give you joy; this is a ratification sufficient of your deed from the two Indian chiefs."

This affidavit is a copy of the affidavit this deponent made before Israel Smith, Abraham Baldwin and John Smith, all Senators in Congress, appointed by the honorable Senate in January, A. D. 1806, a committee to examine and report on the claim and petition of the heirs of Jonathan Carver, in right of their father, who died in London, on January 31, 1780, and the committee left it with Samuel Otis, Esq., Secretary of the Senate, which was missing (or lost) in February, A. D. 1824, as

* Major Forsyth, on p. 212 of this volume, in speaking of the Carver grant, remarks, that the Sioux were noted for their generosity to strangers, ready to grant almost any request a white man would ask of them. L. C. D.

this deponent has been informed; and so caused the unfavorable report on his petition of November 29, 1823.

SAMUEL PETERS.

Personally appeared before me, John Willing, Justice of the Peace in and for the county of Bergen, in the State of New Jersey, Reverend Samuel Peters, LL. D., and made solemn oath that the foregoing is true. Sworn before me, at Jersey City, this 25th day of September, 1824.

JOHN WILLING,
Justice of the Peace.

Early History of Lead Region of Wisconsin

By Moses Meeker *

After much delay, I commence to write, at the request of the Historical Society, the early history of the Lead Mining Region of Wisconsin, which will necessarily embrace much of my own history, having been connected with almost all the early transactions in this section of the country.

In the spring of 1822, when residing in Cincinnati, and en-

* Dr. Moses Meeker was born in New Jersey, June 17th, 1790. After a common education, he studied and commenced the practice of medicine. In 1817 he settled in Cincinnati, Ohio, where he engaged successfully in the manufacture of white lead, until 1822, when he first visited the lead mines of Galena. He soon returned for his family and supplies, and came out in 1823, and remained permanently in the country. Erecting a furnace for the smelting of lead ore, he commenced the smelting business, and continued with much success until the breaking out of the Black Hawk War, when the work was for a while suspended. "He then turned his attention," writes Nicholas Smith, Esq., "to the general interest of the country; and too much praise cannot be ascribed to him for his benevolence, and his kind and friendly acts towards the needy, and for the manly spirit with which he labored for the safety and welfare of the inhabitants of the country during the Indian disturbance. All those acquainted with his career during the dark days of our Indian troubles, can bear testimony to the fact, that no man worked with a more noble spirit for the welfare of the country than did Dr. Meeker. His hospitalities were bestowed liberally, and he made his house a welcome home for the stranger and the homeless."

At the close of the war, he removed to Iowa county, Wisconsin, and settled on Blue river and was again engaged in smelting for several years. In October, 1836, he was supported, but without success, as delegate to Congress, in opposition to Gen. George W. Jones. In 1842 he was elected to the Wisconsin Territorial Legislature and the next year was a second time chosen to the same position, serving through the session of December, 1843—January, 1844. He was a delegate from Iowa county to the first Constitutional Convention in 1846, to form a State Constitution. He continued his residence in Iowa county until the winter of 1854, when he retired from active life, and settled on his farm at Meeker's Grove, in Benton, Lafayette county, where he continued to reside till the spring of 1865, when he removed to Shullsburg.

He took a deep interest in the State Historical Society, of which he was chosen a corresponding member in 1855. At the instance of the Society he commenced his narrative of the early settlement of the lead region, regretting that he had, unfortunately, his journal burned, which he had kept of the early settlement of the country; thus rendering it necessary for him to draw upon his memory for those early transactions—adding, "the great object with me is to give it correct." Referring to the early times of 1822-25, he said: "I have in my possession some documents, which show the despotism under which we lived." Though his paper covers but a comparatively brief period, yet it is of great value and interest.

Dr. Meeker died at his residence in the village of Shullsburg, July 7th, 1865, at the good old age of 75 years. "But few men," says Nicholas Smith, "possess what harmonized the character of Dr. Meeker—benevolence, amiableness of disposition, honesty of principle, and a true Christian spirit, were his crowning virtues. He lived not for himself, but to do good to others; and in consideration of this harmony of character, his name is engraved in the hearts of the wise and good, and in the records of eternity." When Dr. Meeker died, one of the noblest of the band of Wisconsin pioneers passed to the better world. L. C. D.

gaged in the manufacture of white lead, it became necessary for me to visit St. Louis, to purchase a stock of pig lead. On arriving there, I learned that Col. James Johnson, of Kentucky, was fitting out an expedition to work the lead mines on Fever river, on the east side of the Mississippi. The day after my arrival at St. Louis, there was a keel-boat loaded with lead, landed from the Dubuque mines, belonging to a man by the name of Anderson, an Indian trader. He informed me that the lead had been smelted on an island in the Mississippi river, opposite the Indian village where his establishment was. The Indians would not permit him to build upon the main land where they had dug and smelted lead for many years. Being in the Indian trade, and seeing a great deal of waste about their furnaces, he conceived the idea of purchasing the waste and smelting it. He erected a log furnace on the island, and purchased the ore and the mineral ashes from their furnaces, which, by paying the Indians in goods, he obtained at a less cost than he could have obtained it by mining. He gave me a very glowing description of the Fever river mines, and also of the mines generally east of the Mississippi.

About this time there appeared an advertisement in the papers, that the President proposed to lease to individuals one-half of a section of land on the Upper Mississippi lead mines. The person giving a bond and security for ten thousand dollars, to be approved by a U. S. District Judge. The individual getting a lease, was to have the use of timber and stone on the half section, for the purposes of smelting; and was to pay the Government one-tenth of all the lead made.

Col. James Johnson and others arrived on the Fever river, (now Galena), about the 5th of July, 1822. Anticipating opposition from the Indians, he had procured an order from the Secretary of War to Col. Morgan,* commanding the troops on the Upper Mississippi, to meet him with a force sufficient to over-awe the Indians. Detachments of troops

* Colonel Willoughby Morgan, a native of Virginia, entered the service as captain in 1812, and died at Fort Crawford, Prairie du Chien, April 14, 1832.
L. C. D.

were ordered from Fort Edwards, Fort Armstrong, on Rock Island, and Fort Crawford, at Prairie du Chien, Col. Morgan's headquarters. The Sac and Fox Indians had determined to resist their landing, but found that resistance would be in vain from the demonstrations made by the Government troops. The Indians afterwards informed me, that they, by virtue of necessity, concluded to let the white men work with them.

During the summer of 1822, there were a great many notices published in the papers of St. Louis, concerning the wealth of the lead mines of the Upper Mississippi. On the first of October in that year, Col. Cole and myself started from Cincinnati on horseback for the lead mines by the way of St. Louis. In St. Louis I met with Captain Bliss, and he proposed for us to remain there for a few days, and he would accompany us. We complied with his proposal, and leaving St. Louis we crossed the Missouri river at St. Charles, and then traveled up on the west side of the Mississippi. The inhabitants were few and far between, till within twenty-five miles of Fort Edwards. We left the last white settlement expecting to arrive opposite the fort in time to swim our horses over the river before night. When about five miles from the house we left, it began to rain very heavily, and continued some time, and then changed to snow.

We lost our way, and in place of striking the fords of the river Des Moines, we struck a slough of the Mississippi; by following that down we found the main river about ten miles below the fort, as we afterwards learned. It being night, and a heavy snow falling, we encamped for the night without food for ourselves or horses. It cleared off in the night, and the next morning there was such a strong wind that we could not hear the bell on our horses. We spent the day in a fruitless search for our horses, and near night we found some Indian canoes; we launched one of them into the water, put our saddles into it, and started for the house that we had left the morning before. After going down the river about three miles,

we saw a keel-boat encamped for the night. They very kindly gave us something to eat, and invited us to spend the night with them. After breakfast in the morning, we started down, and the keel-boat up the river. On arriving at Mr. White's, we hired a man and horses, and we put it upon Col. Cole to go with him to search for the horses, as he refused to hobble his horse.

Soon after he left in search of the horses, a keel-boat came along, and Capt. Bliss and myself got on board of it for Fort Edwards, leaving directions for Cole to come on with the horses; and on arriving at the fort, we heard the call of Cole with our horses, on the opposite side of the river. We got a Frenchman with his canoe, and went and swam our horses across the river beside it. At this fort we procured provisions, and started for Fort Armstrong, at Rock Island, distance 100 miles. The weather became warmer, and the streams we had to cross were very high, but our horses got accustomed to crossing them, and would swim them without difficulty, carrying us and our provisions upon their backs.

Fort Edwards was under the command of Major Marston; from whom and his officers we received very kind and marked attention. I have forgotten the names of all his officers except Lieutenant, afterwards Captain, Low. We arrived in good time at the fort at Rock Island, under the command of Major Burbank, who received us very kindly. We fortunately met with a keel-boat owned by George W. Hynes, who had his family on board moving to the mines. We sent our horses back to the settlement, and took passage on the boat for Fever river. On entering the river, I was astonished at the number of fish as the men were pushing the boat along. I shot a great many as fast as I could load and fire.

We arrived at the village about four o'clock in the afternoon of November 12th, 1822. There were Col. James Johnson's* company, consisting of eight men, white and black, the

* Col. James Johnson, the elder brother of Col. Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, was born in Orange county, Virginia, Jan. 1, 1774, and when about five years of age was taken to Kentucky. His father Col. Robert Johnson, located with his family at Bryan's Station, and were still residing there when the mem-

Colonel himself having gone to Kentucky for the winter, and to obtain supplies for the next year's operations; Thomas H. January, with two or three men, and a log furnace; John Burrel and Nehemiah Bates, one log furnace, together with Col. Johnson's furnace, making three furnaces; Amos Farrar, an Indian trader doing business for George Davenport, a trader at Rock Island; Capt. David G. Bates and A. P. Vanmetre, at that time trading on the island at Dubuque. Thomas Beuthilier† having bought out Anderson‡ the trader, on a slough of the Mississippi, about three miles west of the settlement on Fever river, known by the name of "the Point"—since Galena—had his trading establishment at that locality. There were about thirty persons to pass the winter, with but a short supply of provisions, unless all the keel-boats on the way should get up, which they failed to do. The scurvy attacked a number of the persons, as I learned the following season, when I returned. I remained eight days, and made what explorations I could in that time, and was satisfied that it was a mineral country, and also having a good soil, and well-watered; but that the ground could not be worked on the terms offered by the Government. The ore would have to be smelted where the timber could be obtained.

I made arrangements for returning the next spring. The

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orable attack was made on that fortress in August, 1782, by a strong party of British and Indians, and soon after settled on Elkhorn, in Scott county, where young James grew up inured to dangers and hardships. The Indians were almost constantly troubling this settlement, and Col. Robert Johnson was a leader among the people in repelling and pursuing the savage foe; and when his son James was but fifteen years of age, and too feeble to undergo the fatigues of the wilderness, he took him to the conflict, with a servant to carry his rifle, and assist him in difficult passages, that he might thus learn from early habit to endure the toils and brave the dangers of war. During the War of 1812, Col. James Johnson served as second in command under his brother, Col. R. M. Johnson, and commanded the right wing in the charge on General Proctor at the battle of the Thames, Oct. 5, 1813. He was a large army contractor during the years 1819-20, and with two steamers conveyed supplies and troops high up Missouri river—one of his steamers was named the "Johnson." Dr. Meeker's narrative shows his early connection with the lead mines in the Galena region and Western Wisconsin. He served a term in Congress in 1825-26; and died of fever, at his residence in Scott county, Ky., Aug. 14th, 1826, in the 53d year of his age. He was a man whom no dangers could dismay nor obstacles discourage, and was guided through life by the strictest principles of Christian virtue and integrity.

† He was an old man at this period, says Charles T. Olmstead, and remained in Galena and died there many years since. L. C. D.

‡ He was universally known as Kentuck Anderson, as he was from Kentucky, sometimes engaged in trading with the Indians, and sometimes employed in mining; he served through the Black Hawk War in Captain Clarke's company: was in the Peckatonica fight; in the affairs at Kellogg's Grove and Battle Creek, and at Wisconsin Heights and Bad Axe; he was a noted bruiser, and it was related of him that he had thirteen fisticuff fights in Mineral Point in one day; yet he was naturally kind-hearted and devoted to his friends. He was finally killed in a feud six miles southwest of Dubuque, in or about the fall of 1836—having been shot dead by one whose life he had threatened. So relates Mr. Olmstead who settled in the lead region a youth, in 1826, and knew Anderson well, and speaks kindly of his memory. L. C. D.

settlement east of the Mississippi in Illinois extended up to Quincy, within fifty miles of Fort Edwards; and on the west side to the residence of a man by the name Edward White, twenty-five miles below the fort. On the 20th of November we left for the settlement in a very heavy snowstorm. By hard labor the men worked the keel-boat in the current of the Mississippi. As we were going out of the mouth of Fever river, we met with a Mackinaw boat, loaded with Indians and goods from Green Bay, which had been sent by Daniel Whitney. A young man by the name of Tuttle had charge of it. Winter had commenced, but we proceeded night and day until we arrived at White's, where our horses were. We were subject to the severe cold, there being no conveniences for fire in the boat.

At White's we mounted our horses, and, after many detentions by ice and stormy weather, arrived in Cincinnati on the 8th of January, 1823, and immediately commenced preparing to return as early in the spring as possible. I entered into correspondence with the Secretary of War, Hon. John C. Calhoun, which has since been lost; but the substance of it was that I wanted some assurance from the Government that I should not be interfered with, either by the Government or by individuals, in my improvements. My letter was submitted to President Monroe, and resulted in an order to Col. Bomford, head of the Ordnance Department, where the business of the lead mines had been placed. I received all the assurance that could be given that I should not be interfered with, until some action of Congress took place upon the subject. At the same time I forwarded an approved bond for ten thousand dollars, as required.

On the 5th day of April, 1823, all things being ready, I cast loose the good keel-boat, "Col. Bomford," with a crew of nineteen men, two of whom had their families with them. The whole number on the boat, consisting of men, women and children, amounted to forty-three, besides three dogs. My outfit was obtained at an expense of seven thousand dollars.

Among the passengers on the boat were the following persons: James Harris, Esq., and son, D. Smith Harris, now Capt. Harris of steamboat notoriety; Benson Hunt, wife and children; Thos. Doyle, wife and children; Maria Rutherford; Maria Bunce, a young woman; Thos. Whittington; John Bunce and brother; Israel Garretson; Thos. Boys; Rich'd Spears, and other names which I have forgotten, all of whom left the country after remaining two or three years, except the Harrises and Hunt.

The Ohio river, at this season of the year, was very high. On arriving at its mouth, we commenced ascending the Mississippi; and in five days thereafter this river also rose very high, the banks overflowing, and for five days we were confined to the boat, not seeing land enough to stand upon. We were twenty-two days in running up to St. Louis, and during the whole time only two days without rain. My men being much exposed to the wet weather, suffered considerably from sickness; we worked the boat along whenever we could make any headway.

About seventy miles above the mouth of the Ohio, in ascending the Mississippi, the steamer "Indiana" or "Virginia," I am not positive which, passed us, loaded with Government stores, destined for the Upper Mississippi. She was the first steamboat that crossed over the Rapids. I called to the Captain, and tried to get him to take me in tow; but he said that he could not do it, as he had hard work to stem the current. In many places he would come to a stand-still. On my arrival at St. Louis, there was a great speculation as to whether the steamboat would ever return again, and also as to the practicability of steamboats crossing the Rapids of the Mississippi. The boat finally returned to St. Louis, re-loaded and made two more trips. The first trip to Prairie du Chien, and the second to St. Peter's. They lost three or four anchors by "warping over." They had not sufficient power of steam to stem the swift current over the bars of rocks on the Rapids. The manner of warping is by sending a yawl-boat ahead with an anchor,

to which a cable is attached. They cast over the anchor, and pay out the cable till they arrive at the boat. On a keel-boat all hands lay hold of the warp, as they term it, and walk back to the stern of the boat, and as each man reaches the stern, he breaks off and travels to the bow, and so on in succession until they arrive at the anchor or tree on the bank of the river, as the case may be. In warping a steamer, the warp was always passed several times around the main paddle wheel shaft, and the steam put on, and the wheels and the warp would force the vessel against the current. At this day there has been so much improvement, that the term warp has almost, if not entirely, become obsolete.

While at St. Louis, I sent two men to Illinois to purchase horses and cattle to be driven to the mines by way of Springfield and Peoria, from which latter place there was no settlement until they reached their destined one at Fever river. After leaving St. Louis, we worked along up the river as our keel-boat was wont to do, sometimes pushing it along with poles, sometimes pulling it along by the brush, called brush-whacking, sometimes by warping, and occasionally by sailing a few miles; but the wind would not shift to suit all the bends of the river. On the day I arrived at Fort Edwards, we had a fair wind, and sailed about twenty miles, owing to a bend in the river. I was obliged to keep along near the opposite bank of the river, and when about one mile above the fort, I saw one of the ports thrown open, and a shot was sent ahead of us. I laid the boat in shore, took the skiff and went down to the fort. I had concerted a signal for the keel to drop down should I require it. On arriving at the landing, Lieut. Low met me with a party of men to escort me into the august presence of the commandant, Major Marston, who I found unable to stand without something to support him. I apologized to him for not landing and paying my respects to him, as was the custom for boats passing up into the Indian country; I had availed myself of the favorable wind, the benefit of which I did not like to lose; but I judged the

quickest and easiest way for me to get along would be to signal the keel-boat to drop down and to invite the Major on board. He enquired whether I had any whisky on board, and answering in the affirmative, he said he would be under the necessity of taking it from me. I remonstrated by saying that I was not going to trade with the Indians, but going to work the lead mines with my own men. That appeared to satisfy him; and, as was the custom of the day, the brandy soothed all difficulties.

We worked up the river near to the foot of the Rapids, and crossed over to be ready to commence the ascent the following morning. During the night a rain storm began, so that we could not proceed. Early in the morning I saw a boat making for us from the fort. On their arrival a letter was handed me, containing a very polite apology for detaining me the day previous, with the mail for upper ports, requesting that I should forward it as far as Prairie du Chien. At that day, and up to the fall of 1828, there was not regular mail above Fort Edwards; each military post was a post-office, and the commandant a postmaster. While the river was open, the mails traveled at the speed of a keel-boat, and as often as opportunities offered. After the closing of the river in the fall, to the opening of the navigation in the spring, there was an express sent through from one post to another, once a month.

We pushed up the river without any annoyance worth noting, and entered Fever river on Sunday, the first day of June, making the trip from St. Louis in thirty-one days, and fifty-eight days from Cincinnati. On arriving, I found that Col. James Johnson had arrived before me, accompanied by Gen. Simrall* from Kenutcky, with a few men; and John S. Miller and family from Hannibal, Missouri, with a drove of cattle. John Kay assisted Miller to drive his cattle through. Duke S. Smith, a brother of Mrs. Miller, and Ebenezer Orne, came that year; John Armstrong, Cuyler Arm-

* Lieut. Col. James Simrall commanded the Kentucky Dragoons on the North Western campaigns of 1812-13. L. C. D.

strong, and James Thompson, from Green Bay, with Tuttle, and Daniel Whitney's goods, arrived the fall before. I was at my destined port, and had to live in my boat until I could build houses, which was no small job. I had men and tools, but my oxen had not yet reached me. Fortunately, Miller had oxen, which he kindly gave me the use of, till mine should arrive. When I applied to him to hire them, he said that I was too much of a Yankee for this country, and that he would not hire them; but that I might take and use them as long as I wanted them; and if I wished to insult him, I could not better do so than by again offering to pay him.

The timber was on the opposite side of the river. I had some logs hauled to the bank of the river about half a mile above Galena, which I rolled into the stream to raft down, but they sank. Fortunately the Armstrongs had built a flat-boat which I purchased and went ahead. Soon after I got up my houses and moved into them, there came a thunder storm accompanied with a very strong wind that unroofed one of them, notwithstanding the roof was weighed down with very heavy green oak logs. I spent the first year mostly in building houses, furnaces and stables, and in digging a well. In the month of August I had the census taken; there were seventy-four persons, men, women and children, white and black; my company numbering forty-three of them. Col. Johnson had four black men with him, one of whom was James P. Beckwourth, afterwards a mountaineer notoriety.*

* Mr. Beckwourth was born in Fredericksburg, Virginia, April 26th, 1798; and when but seven or eight years of age, his father removed to Missouri, and settled in the forks of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, 12 miles below St. Charles. Spending his early years on the farm, he was at length apprenticed to learn the trade of a blacksmith. Several years were devoted to this employment, which as he grew to years of manhood, became irksome to him, and he resolved to indulge himself in a growing wish for travel and adventure. His first venture was to join Colonel Johnson in his expedition up to Fever river, to make a treaty with the Sac and Fox Indians, to obtain their consent to working the lead mines, at that time in their possession. The expedition consisted of six or eight boats, conveying probably about one hundred men, as Beckwourth estimated some thirty two or three years afterwards; though the number was very likely considerably less. Beckwourth engaged in the capacity of a hunter to the party. He states that they had a tedious passage of some twenty days from St. Louis to the place of their destination—Galena of the present day. They found the Sac and Fox Indians in great numbers awaiting their arrival and disembarkation, who were already acquainted with the object of the expedition. They were all armed, and presented a very formidable appearance, yet received Johnson and his party peaceably.

After nine days' parleying, a treaty was effected with them, signed on the part of the Indians by Black Thunder, Yellow Bank and Keokuk—father to the chief of that name who figured in the Black Hawk War; and, on the part of the United States, by Colonels Morgan and Johnson. By this treaty, the lead mines were then first opened for civilized enterprise. During the preliminaries to the treaty, there was great difficulty in preserving peace, as the Indians were well armed,

There were about five hundred Indians; their women quite industrious miners, but the men would not work. They would form an inclined plane where they went deep. I saw one place where they dug forty-five feet deep. Their manner of doing it was by drawing the mineral dirt and rock in what they called a *mocock*, a kind of basket made of birch bark, or dry hide of buckskin, to which they attached a rope made of rawhide. Their tools were a hoe made for the Indian trade, an axe, and a crowbar, made of an old gun barrel flattened at the breach, which they used for removing the rock. Their mode of blasting was rather tedious, to be sure; they got dry wood, kindled a fire along the rock as far as they wished to break it. After getting the rock hot, they poured cold water upon it which so cracked it that they could pry it up. At the old Buck Lead, they had removed many hundred tons of rock in that manner, and had raised many thousand pounds of mineral or lead ore.

The Buck Lead was discovered by an Indian who was called by that name, about one and a half miles from Galena, and had been worked by Old Buck and his wife, and such of his friends as he chose to invite to join him, for some fifteen years, as I was informed by the Indian traders. Old Buck was reputed to be the best miner among the Indians. He had given up hunting some twenty years before the whites took possession of the mines, and made his living by mining. There were many places where the Indians found and worked out mineral, but the principal places were the Buck and Cave leads, the latter five miles from "The Point"—now Galena. Col. J. Johnson purchased the right of working the Buck* and Cave leads

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and the whites had to keep strict guard; but on the distribution of the presents, which followed the conclusion of the treaty, consisting of casks of whisky, guns, powder, knives, blankets, etc., there was a general time of rejoicing; pow-wows, drinking and dancing diversified the time, and a few fights were indulged in, as a sequel to the entertainment.

When Colonel Johnson and party finished their business, Beckwourth had so far ingratiated himself into the good graces of the Indians, that he remained and hunted in their country for eighteen months, and learned much of their habits and character. This was the commencement of his eventful career of frontier life and adventure, as mountaineer, scout and pioneer, and chief of the Crow Indians, of which a most interesting volume was published by the Harpers in 1858. He settled in "Beckwourth Valley," California, in 1852, where, we presume, he is still living, as we have not heard of his death. L. C. D.

* Maj. Charles F. Legate a pioneer of 1836, states that Colonel Johnson learning that Old Buck would sell out his lead or diggings for $300, sent Edward Beouchard, with goods to that amount, and consummated the purchase—which has proved a very valuable digging, as it has been worked ever since. Of Old Buck,

of the Indians in 1822; and the following year, the Indians were at work at different places on the same range. The Indian women proved themselves to be the best as well as the shrewdest miners. While Col. Johnson's men were sinking their holes or shafts, in some instances the squaws would drift under them and take out all the mineral or ore they could find. When the men got down into the drift made by the women, the latter would have a hearty laugh at the white men's expense.

This year the Government had two officers of the Ordnance Department stationed here as surveyors, Major Anderson and Lieutenant Burdine.† There not being any agent sent by the Government this year, the surveyors had nothing to do but eat and drink.

When I arrived, on the first of June, on entering Fever river, I observed the atmosphere to be very chilly; it was occasioned by the immense piles of ice, left by the great freshet in the month of March preceding. These piles of ice upon the bottom opposite the village were from fifteen to twenty feet high. The men that were there told me that the water rose fifteen feet in one hour! The ice being very thick and strong in the short bend of the river, it would gorge up and stop the water until it got high enough to run over, and would very soon wash the ice away.

There were many log furnaces that the smelters had prepared, that were lying upon the banks of the river, that were swept away. There was one large keel-boat that had grounded and was frozen fast to the bottom. The running ice took away all the roof and upper works. The river has not broken up as rapidly since. In the year 1826 or 1827 at the breaking up

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the Winnebago miner, we can add on the authority of Mr. Olmstead, that he was a swarthy, medium-sized Indian, more industrious than his people generally, and had become considerably enlightened, and talked broken English pretty well. The last Mr. Olmstead heard of him, he was engaged with a half-breed named Jonas, prospecting for lead on the Big Ma-co-ket-ty, in the Dubuque region, in 1833: and as a good many miners died of cholera at that period, he rather thinks Old Buck was among the victims. L. C. D.

† Maj. John Anderson, a native of Vermont, became a cadet in 1806, a second lieutenant in 1807; first lieutenant in 1812; captain and topographical engineer, with the rank of major, in 1813; brevet lieutenant colonel in 1823, and died at Detroit, Sept. 14, 1834.

Lieut. Clark Burdine, a native of Georgia, became a cadet in 1817; acting assistant professor of mathematics at West Point in 1820-21; second lieutenant of artillery in 1821, and resigned in 1825. L. C. D.

of Fever river, the water was eight feet deep in the bottom at Galena. What has occurred once may occur again.

There was a great deal of sickness in the settlement this year; various complaints, bilious fever, typhoid fever, and fever and ague. Gen. Simrall, of Kentucky, and Mr. Tuttle, from Green Bay, both died of typhoid fever.

An occurrence took place this season, originating in a drunken frolic, that placed us in a rather dangerous situation with the Indians. Three men of my company one Sunday went to Col. Johnson's establishment, and got drunk, and in the night went into an Indian lodge on their way home, and, for their improper conduct, the Indian took his gun to drive them away. The men snatched the gun from him, and broke it over his head and shoulders, and then beat his aged father shamefully. Their cries brought a number of Indians sufficient to drive them away. The men came home between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, swearing vengeance against the Indians; clamoring for arms and ammunition to exterminate the Indians, and swore that they would have them. I had provided a full supply of both arms and ammunition. The guns were placed on a rack over my bed, all well charged, and my gun always standing at the head of my bed, and a pair of pistols under my pillow. I was sick at the time. As they came into the house, I presented my gun at the leader of them, and made them get into their beds. They were soon asleep. I then called one of my interpreters (having employed two as laborers, one a half-breed Indian, and the other a white man named Curtiss), and gave him directions to prepare a boat and provisions, and to take the three men, who had caused the disturbance, down to an island in the Mississippi, and conceal them until I had settled the difficulty with the Indians. About one hour before daylight the report was made that the Indians were all quiet in their lodges. I started the men with the half-breed interpreter, who worked the canoe past the Indians without being discovered.

Before the sun was up, I sent the other interpreter out to re-

connoitre; who returned and reported, that the house was surrounded, and that the Indians were determined to have revenge by killing the white transgressors. I immediately sent Curtiss, the interpreter, to Cattue, the Indian chief, to request him to come and see me, as I was sick and not able to go out; he came very promptly, and I informed him that the men who had done the mischief were gone away, and would not return, unless I could amicably arrange the matter with the injured persons. I also spoke of the house being surrounded by his people to revenge the injury. I proposed to hold a talk with the injured parties, and to pay them some equivalent for the damages done. He appeared well pleased with the proposition that I made; and said that he would use his influence in getting the difficulty settled, and would return before the sun went down. He went around in the brush where the Indians were concealed, and induced them to leave. My men went to their work and were not disturbed.

It became necessary to send our only team out north of the Point, four or five miles; and as the driver usually employed was one of the men engaged in the row, and he being absent, another man was selected to take his place; who went out, got his load, and when returning, about three miles from home, he heard the Indians whoop, and in looking in the direction of the noise, saw a number, as he supposed about fifty, approaching him at a full run. The driver took to his heels, left his team, and ran home. A more frightened person I never saw. Curtiss, the interpreter, at once said that some of the young Indians had done it in sport, and to see how fast he could run, and proposed to go with him after the team, but the man could not be induced to attempt it. Curtiss went alone; he met the Indians, six or seven in number. He asked them why they had driven the driver from the team. They answered that they wanted to see him run, and as soon as the driver left the team, they stopped running. They said that the man ran like a turkey. He was so much alarmed that he did not stop to see whether they were still following him or not.

When the sun was about one hour high in the evening, the Indians, to the number of about one hundred and fifty, came to my house headed by their chief, Cattue. I had prepared flour, pork, tobacco, and a new gun, and some powder and lead. When all things were ready, I inquired of the men the extent of their injuries. They stated their grievances in a simple manner, and acknowledged that whisky had done it. I showed them what I was willing to give them to settle the matter. After a few minutes' consideration, they proposed that I should add a keg of whisky to what I had offered. That I peremptorily refused. Whisky had caused the difficulty, and whisky should not add to the mischief already done. When I stopped speaking, Cattue presented the pipe of peace to the elder injured Indian, who lit it, took a whiff, and then presented it to me; and I having smoked, presented it to Cattue, and he to the young Indian, and from him it passed around to all present, each making one draw of the smoke. The next proceeding was, each one offered his hand to me for a friendly shake. This being over, Cattue stated that the hatchet was buried, and cautioned all present against digging it up. He then proposed to me to give them a keg of whisky to take over on the west side of the Mississippi river to drink my health, and he pledged himself that none of it should be used until they got over the river. As he had never told me an untruth, I told him that he should have it the next day. He also promised me that my men might come back in perfect safety. Accordingly, the following morning I sent for the concealed men; they soon returned, and the Indians never afterwards referred to the matter.

I might as well here give a description of the mode of smelting lead up to the year 1830 or 1831. The smelting was done in log and ash furnaces. The log furnace was built upon a bank or side hill so as to have a descent of forty-five degrees. They were built on two or four eyes. In the first place there was a strong wall built parallel with the bank, connected with walls at right angles, four feet apart. After the walls were up,

there was a hearth laid, made of one flag-stone having the proper inclination so that the lead would flow down into the basin in front of the furnace. The hearth being made, there were side walls placed upon the hearth, nine inches high, and from nine to twelve inches wide. As burners for the logs, stoke-holes were left in the front wall, ten inches wide by twenty inches high. Logs were cut of a proper length, say three feet ten inches long, and from fourteen inches to two feet in diameter. The large logs were first rolled in upon the side walls, which raised them from the hearth to leave room for air and wood. After the logs were properly placed, the barking was set; that is, wood set upon the end around against the walls. That being set, it was ready for the mineral. Each eye would receive from three to four thousand pounds. The furnace being charged, a slow fire was kindled under the logs, and continued to burn until it arrived at a dull red heat. The fire was then drawn from below to give time for the sulphur to pass off. The sulphur, logs, and barking would keep up a moderate combustion, which was left about six hours. It was then ready to have a fire kindled again in the eye under the logs. A brisk fire being kept up, the lead would flow down into the basin, which was kept hot by a fire upon it until the lead was cast into pigs.

The whole operation of charging and smelting occupied about twenty-four hours. The next process, when there was a sufficient quantity of ashes accumulated, was to wash them clean from extraneous matter, that they could be fused by a higher degree of heat in a furnace called an ash furnace. The ashes when clean were composed of small pieces of mineral, and the gray oxide of lead. The ash furnace was likewise built upon the side of a hill, but entirely different in construction from the log furnace. There were walls raised about three feet high, and eighteen inches apart, and five feet long for the ash pit. The original mode of making the grate was by laying rocks transversely. The fire-place was constructed so that the blaze was thrown upon the basin. The basin was constructed

in an oval shape, and so that it could be tapped on both sides of it, one side for the slag and the other for the lead and zane. Zane was a term made use of to designate lead that was not deprived of its mineralizer, sulphur, which had to be passed again through the log furnace; it was then a fine lead. From the basin there was a flue, somewhat funnel shaped, at an inclination of forty-five degrees, with a flat hearth, and at the top was a place to put the ashes upon to be smelted, which was pushed into the flue as it melted off the bottom and ran down into the basin. The ash furnace was kept going day and night until the bottoms of the flue and basin were cut out by the action of the sulphurate of lead combined with heat. When I came to the mines it was considered a good ash furnace that would run fifty thousand pounds of lead; but they were subsequently so much improved, that a hundred and sixty thousand pounds were made by one furnace before it went into disuse.

There was a great waste of lead made by both the log and ash furnaces. They were said to have been introduced by the Spaniards. Seeing the log furnace in use in 1822, I concluded not to make use of it, and accordingly I brought a man with me to make brick; and I found some clay at Rock Island that I supposed would make a good article. I took some with me to Cincinnati and tested it, and found it to be as good as I wanted. I sent and got a boat load. I had 60,000 brick put in the kiln. All was very well done so far, but I soon found that the man was a good moulder, and set them in the kiln well; but when he came to burn them, he knew nothing about that part of the process, and spoiled the most of them. I selected the best of them, and proceeded to build a furnace on the English plan of a cupola. My fire brick were good, but I had not enough of the common brick to make it strong enough to resist the pressure of the heat. I learned that I must creep before I could walk. I had always before done business where I could obtain anything I wanted by paying for it. But here I had to make everything with my own means. I accordingly went to work and built a log furnace.

During the latter part of this summer, a party of about twenty Winnebago Indians came in to trade their furs and peltries. They arrived in the afternoon and deposited their packs with Amos Farrar, their trader. Amongst the company was an Indian that had acquired the name of John, who could speak English tolerably well. He had got whisky enough to make him very talkative. He came to my house and told me that he was a brave man, that he had killed an Indian of his own tribe two years before; that Col. Morgan had kept him at the garrison for one year, and that he had been out one year. He added that the friends of the deceased were cowards, and that although he had been one year with them, they had failed to take vengeance upon him, according to the Indian custom. I enquired of him if any of the friends of the deceased were in the company. He answered that there were four or five, but they were cowards and dare not attack him. I urged him to stay all night, that it was dark and that they would kill him. I kept him until ten o'clock when he went out, and was stabbed in the heart within an hour after leaving, as was judged by Mr. Farrar the next morning; who related that at eleven o'clock on the night previous, there was a great commotion among the Indians. Those who committed the act were in so much of a hurry that they left the knife sticking in their victim, and immediately disappeared. The rest of the Indians started away in the morning as soon as they could find their horses. By the time the sun was up the Indians were all gone, except the mother of the murdered one. Col. Johnson and myself had a coffin made, and had him buried. The mother stayed for eleven days, and built a fire at the head of the grave about half an hour before the sun went down, and mourned most bitterly till it was set. She then left and did not return.

The Winnebago Indians were so much afraid that they would be apprehended by the whites, and punished for the murder, that they felt it unsafe to come and trade, and staid away for a long time, until at length Farrar, their trader,

sent for them, and then two or three only at first came in; they being assured that the whites would let them settle the matter of John's murder in their own way, in a short time after their return to their people, a very large trading party came in. Whenever the Winnebagoes came in to trade, the Sacs and Foxes would leave and cross over the Mississippi, and remain until the Winnebagoes were all gone. I charged them with being afraid of the Winnebagoes and running away. It was to an Indian Chief, named Black Tobacco,* that I made the charge of cowardice. He said, neither he nor his tribe were cowards, and if I did not believe him, to go and ask Governor Clark, at St. Louis, who had made him a chief for his bravery, and for his friendship to the Americans in the War of 1812, and that he had always been the friend of the white man from the time he was old enough to judge of their numbers; and, in their Indian councils, he had always, even at the risk of his life, opposed those that were for war against the United States. He said that Black Hawk was a bad Indian, and went yearly to get presents from the English at Drummond's Island. That the reason they went away from the Winnebagoes was, that they were friends, and that it was better to keep so. That some of his young men were hot-headed, and if the Winnebagoes got some whisky, when they came to trade, quarrels might arise which would not be as easy to stop, as to avoid them by keeping out of their way.

He then said that I had charged him with being a coward, and to prove that he was not, he proposed that he would himself stay and go amongst them every day while they remained, to do their trading the next time the Winnebagoes came in for that purpose. Accordingly when they made their next visit, he came and told me that he had sent all his people away as usual and he was going to stay and see how they did their trading. The traders had urged him to go; he told them that he wanted to see how they traded with his friends the Winneba-

* Mock-to-back-sa-gum, or Black Tobacco, signed the Prairie du Chien treaty of 1825. L. C. D.

goes. He did not tell the traders why he remained, nor did he wish the Winnebagoes to know until after they had left. He would come to me two or three times a day to convince me that he was not afraid of them. He was not only a brave Indian, but full of humor, and was always pleased when he could get the laugh upon a white man or an Indian.

The Indians generally were very fond of whisky, and as fruitful of their resources to procure it as the white man. One of their modes was to promise to show, for a given number of bottles of whisky, where mineral could be found. By this plan they procured a great deal. Another mode was to offer lewd women to the whites for whisky, which too many of the young men accepted to their sorrow.

Toward the close of the year, Col. Johnson finding that he could not make business profitable, concluded to close up his business and quit the country and advised me to do so too. I had spent the greater part of the season in preparing for business, and being fully satisfied of the fertility of the soil, and its vast mineral resources, I concluded to go on with what I had hardly made a beginning. Col. Johnson smelted this year, about sixty thousand pounds of lead; I smelted about one hundred and seventy thousand pounds; Thos. H. January about forty-five thousand; Bates and Barrel about fifty thousand; and David G. Bates and A. P. Vanmetre, on an island in the Mississippi, opposite Dubuque, of mineral and ashes purchased of the Indians one hundred thousand pounds —making the total product of lead shipped for the year 1823, four hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds.

During the winter of 1823–24, I think, early in the month of January, the first marriage contract was consummated by white persons, both in my employment. There being no one authorized by law to perform the marriage ceremony, I recommended a marriage contract to be drawn up, signed by the contracting parties, binding them to each other, also binding them to have the ceremony performed as soon as they should arrive where it could be legally done. The name of the

young man was William Hynes and that of the young woman Maria Rutherford. Some time during the winter, A. P. Vanmetre received a commission as justice of the peace, from Governor Cass. The young couple went to him, and had him perform the marriage ceremony. The following spring they went down to Clarksville, Missouri, and there had the ceremony performed by a clergyman as they informed me afterwards.

In the month of January, 1824, David G. Bates and myself set off together, he for Missouri, and I for Cincinnati, Ohio, for my family and another year's supply of goods and provisions. We started with jumpers on the ice and after proceeding about twenty-five miles, we found it unsafe to continue on the river, and went upon the land; abandoning our jumpers, we saddled our horses, and traveled by land to Rock Island. We got into the old Indian village at nine o'clock at night. The wind blowing fresh we could not be heard at the fort. We built a fire in one of the Indian houses, at the expense of another house. The light of the fire was seen at the fort, but they supposed some Indians had come in. Early in the morning a boat was sent for us in time to give us a good warm breakfast.

The river being opened, we left our horses, and purchased a canoe, in which we proceeded down the river to White's, in Missouri, twenty-five miles below Fort Edwards. The weather changing very cold in the afternoon, by the next morning the river was frozen hard enough for a horse to travel upon it. I purchased a horse and started for St. Louis. For three days the weather was so cold that I could not ride longer than twenty or thirty minutes before I had to get off and run, in order to keep from freezing. On arriving at St. Charles, on the Missouri river, I was again detained by the running ice in the stream. I spent my time very pleasantly. The Legislature being in session, there was assembled all the variety of personages usually found in a body of that kind in a frontier State, some men of the most brilliant talent, grading thence all the

way down to zero. Gov. McNair was a fine specimen of a western hunter.

After several days detention I was ferried over the Missouri, and arrived at St. Louis, where I found the Mississippi running so full of ice that neither the mails nor travelers could get over, and many persons arriving daily upon each side of the river. The ice began to slacken some. Wiggin, the owner of the horse-boat, agreed to try crossing if eight hundred dollars should be made up for him for the round trip, by persons on both sides of the river. It was very soon raised, and we got over, but not without much peril to the boat and passengers. Before we landed on the Illinois side there was but one bucket left on the paddle-wheel, and that was stopped by a cake of ice. When within two rods of the shore, the boat was drifted rapidly down stream upon a snag or large tree, with one end imbedded in the mud, and the other end projecting above the water and floating ice; twenty feet more and all would have been lost. The ice was cleared from the wheel, and the eight horses put to their utmost speed, and the boat went ahead and was landed safely, with about two hundred passengers and about forty horses. It is astonishing how many people there are in times of danger that give up in despair. There were many that could do nothing but mourn their untimely fate as they imagined and made offers of money, from one dollar to five hundred, to be put on the shore safely. But the instant the boat landed, those that were most frightened were the first to leave her, without stopping to make the least acknowledgment of thanks and gratitude to those who had exerted themselves to extricate the boat from the floating ice. Mr. Wiggin, the owner of the boat, was on board, and made use of every exertion that was possible for a man to make to save the boat, and when we landed, he generously called upon all of us who had assisted him in working the boat, offering to refund the money we had paid him; but all were satisfied with him, and with themselves, that they had got over safely, and that we had only done our duty, and further that we did not wish him to pay us for it.

I proceeded on to Cincinnati, where I arrived in good time, in the latter part of February. I got my business done, and was ready to leave again for the mines by the eighth of April. I left Cincinnati on board a flat-boat, and ran over the Falls at Louisville to Shipping Port, and there put my goods and people on board a steamboat for St. Louis. Our company was composed of myself and family, James Smith and family, and the family of James Harris, who went with me the year before, and in whose hands I placed my business during my absence from the mines. At St. Louis my keel-boat was in waiting had been sour flour and condemned army pork, which pro- the mines with a load of lead. As soon as my boat was loaded, we started for the mines, where we arrived in as good time as was usual with keel-boats, traveling with the faces of the men working the boat, towards the port we had left. On arriving, I found the people that had remained, with the exception of A. Farrar,* the Indian trader, and my company, had suffered severely for the want of good provisions. Their living had been sour flour and condemned army pork, which produced a number of cases of scurvy, and some of them quite severe; two of them had lost the use of their legs. I directed their limbs to be buried in the ground six hours a day for three days, with the use of vegetable aid externally. They recovered immediately.

The business of mining and smelting went on about as last season, until the fall of the year, when John Bonner went out where Hazel Green now is, in search of old Indian diggings. He found a place that suited him, and commenced sinking a shaft by himself. At four and a half feet he found block mineral extending over all the bottom of his hole. He went to work and cut out steps on the side of the hole, to be ready for the next day's operation. Accordingly the next morning he commenced operations. The result of his day's work was seventeen thousand pounds of mineral upon the bank at night. This, I do not think, has been equaled since by

* Amos Farrar, says Mr. Olmsted, settled permanently at Galena, died there, and has descendants still residing at that place. L. C. D.

one man. He went on working until he raised about one hundred thousand pounds, and then abandoned it, thinking that he had got all the mineral that was there, the opening being closed up. The following year I laid a Government survey to include the same diggings, and built the first cabin or log house that was built north of the old Cave Diggings. From Bonner's discovery I raised over one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. My men made several other discoveries of mineral, all of which were worked down to the water level.

Mr. Jefferson Crawford, after I had abandoned the survey, settled upon it, and has realized a handsome fortune from it. John Edwards has also realized considerable wealth from a part of the old survey, and from the land adjoining it on the west. Mr. Crawford has, with considerable zeal, expended a large amount in erecting pumps to free the mines from water. First he put on a pump which he worked with oxen upon an inclined plane. Since he has put up a water wheel which is worked by the water, raised by the oxen running on a wheel thirty feet in diameter. Last year, 1856, he put up a water wheel fifty feet in diameter, on which he takes water raised by the other pumps, with the addition of that obtained from a branch of water, thus obtaining an immense power for working his pumps, which are worked by long wooden rods. He deserves a great deal of mineral, and I am of the opinion that he will be well paid for his enterprise in pushing it forward; for I think the best deposits of mineral have not yet been reached.

The same year, 1824, that the Hazel Green mines were discovered, Duke L. Smith, George Ferguson, and five or six others, started out prospecting, and found the New Diggings, which have produced immense quantities of mineral. In the Spring of 1826, I went to New Diggings for the first time. Ferguson's Diggings were then very good; he had gone down to the water. John and Cuyler Armstrong had struck a sheet of mineral immediately south, and higher up the hill than Ferguson's, which they wanted to sell to me for three

hundred dollars. I went to Ferguson to learn whether or not he would join me in running a level from the main branch, which I estimated would lower the water one hundred and fifty feet. The level would necessarily run through his lot; but he would not do anything, nor would he sell his lot. I then got the Armstrongs to give me the refusal for two weeks, as I was expecting a man to return from the State of Delaware, that had gone home on a visit. He did not return in time, and I was obliged to abandon the project, not being able to get a man to take charge of it that was temperate. There have been many millions of pounds of mineral taken from that lot.

The Ferguson lot has proved to be immensely rich, and neither of them are yet worked out; and I am of the opinion that the richest of the mines are yet to be worked by machinery, and by companies judiciously managed. Steam at present is too expensive, on account of the scarcity of fuel, and will continue to be so until coal can be obtained at a reasonable rate. With the competition of railroads in this quarter, together with the aid of the river navigation, and when the demand is sufficient to open a regular trade, we may expect an abundance of coal, and at a reasonable rate too, from the coal fields of Illinois. I look forward to the time when the mines will be worked upon a systematic principle, and that the supply of lead will be equal to the increasing demands. There is another mineral staple in our mining region which is inexhaustible, namely zinc ore. Dry bone and black jack, which at present are thrown away as worthless by the miners, will in times not far distant, be gathered and washed from impurity, and worked into plate zinc and zinc white. The lack of fuel is the only obstacle to its present accomplishment.

There was but a slight increase of emigration during the year 1824 to the mines, and not much of an increase in 1825.

In the fall of 1824, I wrote to Col. Bomford, recommending a change in the system of working the mines, by working men, and the Government to give license to smelters who

would be liable for the ten per cent of the lead required by the Government. Accordingly, at the close of April, 1825, Lieut. Martin Thomas* arrived as Superintendent of the mines claimed by the U. S. Government in Missouri, and also of the Upper Mississippi lead mines, by which they were then known. Mr. Thomas said that he was referred to me for information as to the working of the mines, and that [here, unfortunately, the manuscript abruptly terminates].

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* Lieut. Thomas, a native of Pennsylvania, entered the army as an ensign in 1814, and was wounded in the affair at Lyon's Creek, Upper Canada, Oct. 19th, in that year; and was dismissed from the service in 1831, never having attained a higher rank than first lieutenant. L. C. D.

In the note on p. 271, we erred in saying that Dr. Meeker studied and commenced the practice of medicine in New Jersey; he did not study medicine till he had settled in Wisconsin, about 1830. He was a native of Newark, N. J. At one period, he resided several years in Mineral Point. L. C. D.

Western Wisconsin in 1836

By Strange M. Palmer

I feel a deep interest in everything relating to the history of that rich, growing and rapidly improving State, Wisconsin, destined ere long to rank among the most wealthy and important of her sister States—for I visited it as early as 1836, the first year of the organization of the Territorial Government. At that time, just emerging from the difficulties incident to an Indian war, the country comparatively new, sparsely settled, and but partially explored—with few improvements in the shape of public roads, houses of entertainment, or facilities for traveling, a tour through it involved difficulty, fatigue, delay, and oftentimes dangers.

The road from Galena by way of Elk Grove and Belmont to Mineral Point, then the great thoroughfare for the transportation of a very large portion of the mineral raised in that region, was cut up and rendered almost impassable by immense trains of heavily laden wagons, drawn in most cases by oxen, numbering from four to twelve in a team. These trains made their way slowly, and with great difficulty, to Galena, where their rich and valuable loads, principally of lead ore, were deposited, preparatory to being shipped to St. Louis and thence to eastern markets. The passage of these frequent trains, injurious as they were to the roads, had the effect, however, of imparting an air of business and prosperity to the country, which was decidedly agreeable and refreshing to the traveler.

From Galena, in company with two or three other gentlemen crammed into a small two-horse common lumber wagon, partially covered with a piece of old and tattered canvas, we

were dragged slowly along what was literally "a hard road to travel," until we reached Elk Grove, the first stopping place. Here a discovery had just been made of a subterranean stream of water, which was exciting an extraordinary degree of interest, and much curious speculation among the few persons present. This stream was found in sinking a well at the depth, according to my present recollection, of some twelve or fifteen feet below the surface of the earth. It was wider than the diameter of the well, the water being from ten to twelve inches in depth, and ran with a current of considerable force; but whence it came, or whither it went, was a mystery to all who examined it at that time. This mystery has doubtless long since been explained to the satisfaction of your people, though I have never heard nor read anything in relation to it, nor do I find any reference to it in the records of the Historical Society. True it is, there are frequent "sink holes" in the limestone formations, and it is possible that in the case under consideration, one of these "holes" may have been penetrated, causing the rapid flow of water alluded to; yet it has all the appearance of a living, continuous stream of water, passing through an opening in the earth more than ten feet in width, and from twelve to fifteen inches in depth.

Arriving at Belmont, an embryo city, laid out on a magnificent scale, and very handsomely located near the Platte Mounds, we found the people, proprietors of lots and speculators generally, in a state of wildest excitement in anticipation of the approaching meeting at that place of the first Territorial Legislature—which all important event was to occur in the month of November of that year. The most extravagant plans and speculations were indulged in, while each individual appeared to feel a happy consciousness that wealth and honors were just within his grasp. Immense improvements were projected and displayed in a most attractive manner upon paper, in the shape of spacious hotels, boarding-houses, princely mansions, and a Capitol, or legislative hall (the latter to be, of course, at the expense of "Uncle Sam"),

in a style intended to eclipse all similar edifices in the country, while it should secure to their favored town, beyond all peradventure, the permanent location of the seat of government, not only of the Territory, but of the future State of Wisconsin. They spoke of Platteville, a town plot then recently laid out a few miles from there (which, I understand, unlike Belmont, has since grown to be a place of much beauty and very considerable importance), as a project gotten up by a set of mere adventurers and speculators, who, either most grossly deceived themselves as to the probability, or, indeed, possibility of ultimate success, or were little better than a band of swindlers! The comparative merits of Cassville, Prairie du Chien, Mineral Point, the projected city (now the beautiful and prosperous city of Madison) at the Four Lakes, and Milwaukee, were discussed at large; and the conclusion arrived at with hardly a dissenting voice, that although they might *in time* rise to the dignity of respectable villages, the idea that they could ever rival their own Belmont, particularly as the seat of government, was utterly preposterous! Some one, however, who had not so deep a pecuniary interest in the town as the others, ventured to suggest, that Mineral Point being located in the very heart of the mineral region, with a population at once intelligent and enterprising—with the advantage, too, of being a trifle nearer the center of the Territory, might possibly at some day, *far in the future,* presume to set up as a rival of their more favored town. To this an old gentlemen, one of the most enthusiastic of the party, replied in a tone of withering sarcasm: "That is rich! Shake Rag,* indeed!"

From here, the road, passing as it did, over a hilly, or what might be called a rolling country, in precisely the condition that nature left it, without the least attempt at improvement, was even more difficult and dangerous than that already described—being in some places nearer a perpendicular than any

* The origin of this nickname is given by Hon. Stephen Taylor, on p. 486, vol. ii., *Wis. Hist. Collections*, that, in early times, the bachelor miners, from necessity, had to perform the domestic duties of cook and washermen; and mealtime was indicated by appending a rag to an upright pole, which, fluttering in the breeze, telegraphically conveyed the glad tidings to their hungered brethren upon the hill—hence the provincial soubriquet of "Shake Rag," or "Shake-Rag-Under the Hill." L. C. D.

other road I have ever seen traveled, even in the mountains of Pennsylvania, or in the more mountainous and rugged portions of New England—although a little work and a few slight changes in its location, would have rendered it decidedly safe and pleasant. But a single incident of the trip will better elucidate the condition of that primitive road than any description I am able to give: While passing down one of the most abrupt hills in the valley of the Peckatonica, our horses, after sliding for a considerable distance on their haunches, started off at full speed, and suddenly leaving the road in a tangent, landed horses, wagon and passengers in the very bed of the creek, with the water of sufficient depth to submerge the floor of the wagon body, and thoroughly to wet the feet of its inmates. Extricated from this dilemma after much labor, and no inconsiderable loss of time, it was unanimously voted a most fortunate result, or rather providential interposition which probably saved us from the more fearful catastrophe of being capsized, and hurled down the hill at the imminent risk of life and limb.

Mineral Point, or as it was more generally called "Shake Rag," at the time of which I write, was indeed a most humble, unpretending village in appearance, and was rendered peculiarly so by the fact that its few scattered log huts or shanties were principally ranged along a deep gorge or ravine (at the foot of an elevated and most desirable town site), through which the principal road or street wound its sinuous way. Yet, entering it, as we did, near the close of a delightful summer afternoon, at about the hour the miners and workmen had returned from their daily labor, there was in the street a throng of hale, hearty men—their faces, it is true, begrimed with dirt; but with cheerful, laughing countenances, imparting an air of general prosperity and happiness, which a further acquaintance with the place and its inhabitants fully confirmed. Stopping at the principal, indeed almost the only house deserving the name of "hotel," kept by Col. Abner Nichols, a general favorite, who was familiarly addressed by old and

young as "Uncle Ab," we were cordially received by mine host, and as comfortably quartered as possibly could be under the circumstances, the house being filled to repletion with guests.

The principal features of the house were a spacious dining-room, where all met on an equality at meal time, around a bountifully filled table; and, on the same floor, an equally capacious saloon, filled with beds, and alike free to all; where the gentleman who first retired for the night, might do so under the grateful delusion that he was to enjoy the comforts of a good bed alone; yet, before morning, would be most likely to find himself sharing his comforts with as many bed-fellows as could possibly crowd themselves along side of him—some of them probably in a condition to render them entirely oblivious to the fact that they had "turned in" without the usual formality of divesting themselves of hat, coat, pants or boots. There was no show of a whisky bar in the hotel, not so much even as a decanter, jug or keg, that very necessary appendage being kept in what was called the "grocery," a small building detached some considerable distance from the main building. Nor did this isolated condition of the bar or "grocery" prevent its being visited—on the contrary, it was crowded with customers night and day.

Here was to be found, at all hours, music, dancing, singing, drinking and gambling of every description, to an extent only equalled probably, by the famed "Natchez-Under-the-Hill." Nor were these scenes confined to the grocery of "Uncle Ab," for they were openly and notoriously enacted in every other similar establishment in the town! Yet with all this appearance of licentiousness, it was principally confined to a certain class of lawless adventurers, while there were many very worthy, upright, intelligent citizens who were liberal and generous to a fault, and, in their intercourse with strangers, exhibited a degree of courtesy and kindness rarely equalled in the older, and what might be considered the more refined portions of our country. This excellent trait of character was exhibited to

me in a most striking manner; for, during my stay among them, I was taken down and brought near to death's door, by an attack of bilious fever, contracted while sojourning on and near the Illinois river. Removed at once to a comfortable chamber, which a portion of the family resigned to me, my life was undoubtedly saved by the skillful professional treatment of Dr. Edward McSherry, and the unwearied kindness and tender nursing of "Uncle Ab," his excellent wife and family —which, added to the most delicate and kindly attentions voluntarily bestowed by many of the citizens, left a pleasing impression of gratitude on my memory which can never be effaced.

Among the other evidences of the rude and primitive condition of the town, was the almost unceasing howling and barking of the wolves during the night, around and within its very borders, sounding, at times, as though the town was infested by scores of the brutes, much to the annoyance and alarm of timid strangers. The municipal arrangements, too, of the town and county were by no means so systematic and perfect, as in some older and more experienced communities; nor were the court house and jail particularly adapted to the uses for which they were intended. The jail (or pen, rather, dignified by the name of "prison"), was constructed of rough, unhewn logs, some ten or twelve feet square, with a roof, as I now remember it, of flattened logs; the interior of a height barely sufficient to admit of a man standing upright in it; a door made of boards about an inch thick, which was hung with wooden hinges, and fastened on the outside with a chain and ordinary padlock. On one occasion during my residence in that region, the strength of this Bastile was ludicrously tested, and from that time declared an unsafe depository for experienced and daring criminals. It was something after this wise: A long, lank Yankee, as he was called, being arrested on a charge of horse stealing, was committed to prison, to await a hearing on the following morning; but miraculous as it would seem, when morning came, one corner of the prison

was found raised up and secured by a stake or stone, some twelve or fifteen inches above the surface of the earth, and lo! the bird had flown! The fugitive was pursued by Sheriff Gentry, I think, and his officers, in different directions, but so far as I was informed, made good his escape.

Among the early settlers who were conspicuous for their intelligence, energy and devotion to the best interests of the Territory, I remember with peculiar pleasure Gov. Dodge, Maj. John P. Sheldon, Col. Wm. S. Hamilton, Stephen Taylor, Esq. (late Controller of the city of Philadelphia), Gen. Chas. Bracken, Dr. Edward McSherry, Levi Sterling, Esq., Col. John D. Ansley, Col. Ebenezer Brigham, Col. John B. Terry, James H. Gentry, Esq. (then Sheriff of Iowa county), Col. Daniel M. Parkinson, Col. Abner, Nichols, John Milton, Esq., Benjamin Salter, Esq., Wm. Henry, Esq., postmaster at Mineral Point; Capt. John F. O'Neil, John Messersmith, Esq., and Robt. Dougherty, Esq., all of Iowa county; Hon. James H. Lockwood and Hon. Thos. P. Burnett, of Prairie du Chien; Gen. Dennison, Col. Daniels, and Capt. Estin, of Cassville; and John P. Arndt, of Green Bay. Judge Arndt I knew in my earliest youth, as a highly respectable citizen of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, my native town, whence he removed with his family to Wisconsin, long before that portion of the North-West was known by its present name.

Desirous of visiting Cassville, Prairie du Chien, and that part of the territory bordering on the Mississippi, I accepted a cordial invitation from Col. Daniels, of Cassville, to take a seat in his carriage for that place. It was a delightful morning in September, when, with an agreeable party consisting of the Colonel, Mr. Latham, of Mineral Point, and a Mr. Payne, of Boston, we bade adieu to the noble, generous people of Mineral Point, and proceeded over a rough, uncultivated, hilly, and tolerably well timbered country, some six or ten miles to a pretty spot called Diamond Grove, near which was the residence of Col. John B. Terry. Here it was proposed to stop,

but on approaching the house it was evident that the family were not at home, and I proposed to pass on, but was overruled by Col. Daniels, who insisted that it was the seat of genuine hospitality, where the "latch string" was never drawn in, which proved to be the case on that occasion at least, and the whole party entered the house. And although no member of the family were at home, Col. Daniels presuming upon his friendship with the proprietor, opened the cupboard, and set out an excellent cold collation, to which was added a bottle of something stronger than milk, on which the party regaled themselves most satisfactorily.

Proceeding across a fine rolling prairie, beautiful as a garden, though almost in a state of nature, with at rare intervals a small agricultural improvement, or a hamlet of miners' huts, we struck the military road, which traverses the great dividing ridge extending across the Territory, the western terminus being at Prairie du Chien, along which we continued through a succession of natural landscapes the most rich and gorgeous that can be imagined, until we reached the intersection of the Cassville road; near which, but a short distance along the last named road, we stopped for the night, at a small log hut, the only building of any description in the vicinity, excepting a small one on a recent improvement, said to have been commenced by Hon. Thomas P. Burnett, near where we diverged from the military road.

We were generously welcomed, and as comfortably entertained as the limited means of our kind host and hostess would admit. The ride from this point to Cassville was through a country of extraordinary beauty, with a soil of unrivaled richness and fertility, though with the exception of a very few small buildings and improvements, untouched by the hand of man. The people of Cassville, proverbially intelligent, accomplished and enterprising—proud of what they considered the great beauty and immense natural advantages of the location of their town—were all bustle and excitement in view of many grand and important improvements already projected or in

progrses; first among which was a magnificent hotel, the foundation for which was already being laid. All classes appeared prosperous, happy and contented—looking forward with confidence to a brilliant future for themselves and their favorite town.

After remaining a short time here, I took passage (kindly accompanied by Capt. Estin and Mr. Latham), on board the steamboat "Adventurer," a very small, dilapidated and filthy boat (for at that time there were comparatively few steamers of any description plying on the Mississippi, above Dubuque), for Prairie du Chien. This town, located on a beautiful prairie, some four miles above the mouth of the Wisconsin river, would have been fully equal in appearance to any other site on the Mississippi, but for a slough or bayou which ran through it nearly parallel with the river, thus dividing the town, and giving to that portion next to the river, or "Old Town," as it was called, the appearance of an island, which was exclusively occupied by the store and warehouse, a large and elegant stone structure, and other buildings of the North American Fur Company, with a few mean huts tenanted by a miserable set of French and Indians. It was here that John Jacob Astor, the New York millionaire, as a member or chief of that mammoth Fur Company, made, it has been said, a considerable portion of his immense wealth.

On the opposite side of the bayou, or "New Town," was Fort Crawford, in which were about 300 United States troops. It occupied a high, airy, and commanding position on the prairie, and comprised four substantial stone buildings, each some two hundred feet long, forming a hollow square, in the centre of which was a spacious parade ground. The officers and ladies of the garrison were exceedingly courteous and agreeable, exerting themselves to render our visit in every respect pleasant and satisfactory. The "New Town" contained but few dwelling houses, and those of a very ordinary character—the only one of any pretensions, which I recollect, being that occupied by Judge Lockwood.

Returning to Cassville I took passage on board the steamer "Missouri Fulton," and bidding adieu to that delightful Territory, in the fond hope of being permitted to visit it again in after years, set out cheerily for my eastern home. At Rock Island, in which stood Fort Armstrong, a handsome and truly formidable fortress, the Captain kindly landed to afford the passengers an opportunity of witnessing the formalities of concluding a treaty which was being held between Gov. Dodge, acting for the United States, and the chiefs of the Sauk and Fox Indians, during which the latter ceded to the Government their immensely valuable reservation situate on the Iowa river, west of the Mississippi, and nearly opposite to Rock Island—the sum stipulated for the purchase being, as it was then understood, seventy-five cents per acre.* The acquisition of this domain was considered of great importance to the country; not so much on account of its intrinsic value as to get rid of those mischievous tribes of Indians, who up to a period very recent had kept up a continual warfare with their white neighbors, at the instigation of Black Hawk, who strenuously maintained to the last, that they had been unjustly deprived of the lands and homes inherited from their fathers, and which ended only with the capture of that brave old chief, and the consequent termination of war, August, 1832.

Pending the treaty some four hundred of the Sauk and Fox tribes, old and young, male and female, were encamped on the western bank of the river, opposite the Island, who, contrary to the supposed proverbial taciturn and stoical disposition of that people, were engaged in all manner of sports, including horse racing, and gambling of every description. The men, many of them, were painted after a variety of grotesque fashions—their heads ornamented and decked out in

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* This is substantially correct. The Sauks and Foxes ceded, at this treaty, 400 sections, or 256,000 acres, in consideration of which, the sum of $30,000 was to be paid them the following year, and $10,000 a year for ten years thereafter—making altogether $130,000. In addition, Government agreed to pay certain debts due to traders, and other claims, amounting in the aggregate to $56,294.67; and still further provided to pay certain annuities, for several half-breed children for their education, etc., the total amount of which cannot be well estimated. This would show the cost of the ceded lands at between seventy and seventy-five cents per acre.

It is interesting to notice that Black Hawk, who was present at the treaty, had no official connection with it, having been practically deposed by our government at the close of the Black Hawk War, by the recognition of Keokuk as head chief.

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scarlet cloth or flannel, with a profusion of feathers, beads, and other finery. They appeared decidedly happy, and at times, were boisterous in their mirth. After the passengers returned to the boat, they were visited, among others, by the co-chiefs, Black Hawk and Keokuk, who exhibited evident signs of pleasure and gratification at being introduced to them, particularly the ladies, toward whom they were decidedly gallant. This treaty was considered, and justly, too, a highly important one, settling, as it did forever, the difficulties and misunderstandings which had so long subsisted with those Indians, who were the original owners and occupiers of all that beautiful country on both sides of the river, for a considerable distance above and below Rock Island—and Gov. Dodge was highly complimented for the skillful and successful manner in which he conducted the negotiations for the final result.

Thus have I hastily and imperfectly jotted down the reminiscences of a brief residence in the Territory, nearly a quarter of a century ago; and if, among them all, there shall be found a single fact worthy of preservation as connected with its early history, I shall feel amply recompensed for the little time and labor it has cost me in its preparation.

Pottsville, Pa., Nov., 1858.

Eleazer Williams and the Lost Prince*

By John Y. Smith

Most persons of mature years will remember the sensation which was produced in 1853 and a few succeeding years, by the pretended discovery, in this country, of the supposed lost Dauphin of France, Louis XVII.

The pretender was Rev. Eleazer Williams, for many years a resident of Green Bay, in this State, and although he died in 1858, the sensation did not entirely die with him, and an attempt has recently been made to revive the imposition which was so successfully inaugurated in 1853. So unsettled does the public mind seem to be, in regard to this matter, that frequent enquiries, as I am informed by the Secretary, are made of this Society, for information concerning this mysterious personage with whose presence Wisconsin was so long honored (?) Having been personally acquainted with Mr. Williams during the greater part of the period of his residence in Wisconsin, I have been requested to prepare a paper touching the merits of his claims to royal birth. Having no personal knowledge of the man which bears upon the question, save in a general way, I can do no more than to review the main points of evidence for and against those claims, as presented by others, and add my own testimony as to his ethnological characteristics, and his general reputation for honesty and veracity.

Before entering upon so limited an examination of those claims as I propose at this time, it seems necessary, for the in-

* Read before the Society March 10. 1870.

formation of such as may not have read all that has been written on the subject, to state briefly, who the Dauphin was, and who was this Eleazer Williams.

Upon the downfall of the Bourbon dynasty by the revolution of 1792, and the execution of Louis XVI and his Queen, Marie Antoinette, their only remaining son and heir to the throne of France, was left, an imbecile and sickly child of eight years, a prisoner in the hands of the revolutionary government, and confined in the Tower of the Temple in Paris. After an imprisonment of about two years, the young prince was said to have died in the Temple, and been buried in the cemetery of Ste. Marguerite, in the Faubourg St. Antoine, and his death and burial duly attested according to the laws of France, which, in this particular, were very explicit. It was not strange that in those times of general disorder, when men had lost all confidence in each other, a story should have obtained circulation that the young Dauphin did not die in the Temple, but was rescued from imprisonment and sent to America, while another sickly child was adroitly smuggled into the Temple and died there instead of the Dauphin.

Eleazer Williams was the reputed son of Thomas and Mary Ann Williams, of the St. Regis or Mohawk band of Indians—the St. Regis, Mohawk and Oneida Indians being but different bands of the great Iroquois nation, and all speaking substantially the same language. Eleazer's reputed mother was three-fourths Indian, and his father was of mixed blood. Being a bright lad, he was educated under the auspices of the Protestant Episcopal Church, received deacon's orders, and was appointed a missionary to the Oneida Indians, then located in Oneida county, New York. The story of the abduction of the Dauphin from the Temple, and his transfer to America, and the fact that, if such were the case, all traces of him had been lost, afforded the opportunity for any pretender of the right age, and who could involve his real origin in obscurity, to lay claim to the honor of identity with the assumed "Lost Prince." At rather a late day, Mr. Williams

availed himself of this opportunity, and appeared on the stage as the long lost Dauphin.

Mr. Williams first succeeded in impressing the Rev. Dr. Hawks, of New York city, with the plausibility of his claims, and the Doctor was the first to call public attention to them. Soon after, in 1853, John H. Hanson, another Episcopal clergyman, published in *Putnam's Magazine* two elaborate articles in support of Mr. Williams' pretentions. These articles contained just enough of plausibility, mingled with doubt, to create a sensation, and Mr. Hanson was encouraged to expand his investigations into a good-sized volume, in which every shadow of evidence in favor of those claims is made the most of, while the most weighty evidence against them is set aside upon the most frivolous pretexts imaginable. Yet notwithstanding the one-sidedness of his argument, and the suspicious character of all his evidence, Mr. Hanson, for a time, seems to have had the story all his own way. Soon after the appearance of the articles in *Putnam*, a gentleman in Montreal who was well acquainted in the village of Caughnawaga, where Williams was born, wrote an article, and procured testimony, exposing the fraud, and sent it to *Putnam* for publication, but was refused a hearing. The editor promised that he would give a synopsis of it, and get it published entire in some New York daily; neither of which was done. The *exposé* would have robbed the magazine of a little sensational glory, and spoiled the sale of Mr. Hanson's book. The article then slept for fifteen years; the substance of it, with the evidence then procured, appearing in the New York *World* in 1868, upon the revival of the imposture, by Rev. Dr. Francis Vinton, in the pages of the revived *Putnam*.

In considering the claims of Mr. Williams to the Dauphinship, two questions naturally present themselves:

1. Did the Dauphin ever come to America?

2. If he did, has he been identified in the person of Rev. Eleazer Williams?

To review in detail all the vagaries which Mr. Hanson has

arrayed in the name of evidence upon these two points, is quite impossible within the endurable limits of an evening discourse, and I must dispose of the first inquiry very briefly. It is obvious that if there is clear and satisfactory evidence that the Dauphin died in the Temple in his eleventh year, both these questions must be regarded as finally settled. If not, the question of his identity in the person of Mr. Williams still remains.

M. Beauchesne, a French writer, in his elaborate work on the Dauphin, Louis XVII, has presented the evidence of his death in the Temple, in a very clear and satisfactory manner. It is gathered from the public records of France, and consists of the sworn testimony of four distinct groups of witnesses taken at the time of the Dauphin's death.

1. That of the four physicians, Dumangin, Pelletan, Lassus and Jeanroy, who performed a post-mortem examination of the body, who drew up and subscribed the legal document called the *"proces verbal,"* and two of whom had attended the Prince for some time previous to his death.

2. That of Lasne and Gomin, the two jailors who had charge of the Dauphin's person during his confinement in the Temple.

3. That of four members of the Committee of General Safety, who saw and recognized the body immediately after death.

4. That of the officers and sub-officers of the guard of the Temple.

All these witnesses, ten in number, besides the officers and sub-officers of the Temple, attest, under oath, the death of the Dauphin, Louis Charles Capet, in the Temple in Paris on the 9th of June, 1795. The proof of his burial is equally clear, direct and positive, as established by still another class of witnesses; and the two jailors, Lasne and Gomin, reaffirmed their testimony to M. Beauchesne more than forty years after the event. It would seem, therefore, that the death of the Dauphin in the Temple at Paris, in 1795, is as well attested as that of Abraham Lincoln in the city of Washington, in 1865.

All this direct and positive testimony, based upon personal cognizance of the facts, and much more of the same nature, adduced by M. Beauchesne, Mr. Hanson sets aside upon inferences drawn from sheer assumptions, and upon hearsay evidence, most of which has since been traced to the inventive genius of Mr. Williams himself. Not one word of direct and positive evidence has he produced that the Dauphin ever came to America, nor to contradict the evidence that he died in the Temple, in Paris, in 1795. It is all assumption, inference and vague hearsay, but the main assumptions are not only violent, but altogether inconsistent with each other. For example, he assumes that the brother of Louis XVI, and uncle of the Dauphin, wishing to secure the reversion of the throne to himself and family, and to rid himself of the only obstacle, the Dauphin, plotted his abduction from the Temple, and this at a time when there seemed to be no prospect that another Bourbon would ever ascend the throne of France, at all. Next Mr. Hanson assumes that the Dauphin, abducted by his mortal enemy, was placed in the hands of his most trusty friends —two old body servants of his parents, a man and his wife— who brought him to America; and finally, that these trusty friends carried him into a wilderness and dropped him, a sickly and imbecile child, among savages, to die or endure the hardships and privations of savage life.

The extreme improbability of all these assumptions will be still further manifest when we consider the imminent danger attending this assumed conspiracy. In those times when men's heads were cheap things, had such a plot been discovered, either before or after its execution, every person engaged in it would have been held guilty of treason against the revolutionary government, and executed as fast as the guillotine could have despatched them. That so many persons should have entered into such a conspiracy, at such a fearful risk, and in the face of the extreme difficulties attending the stealing of one person out, and smuggling another in, through the complicated guards which surrounded the Temple, and which, to pre-

vent the possibility of collusion, were changed every day, is to the last degree improbable. Besides, the assumption takes it for granted that the child smuggled in as substitute for the prince, would *die,* like a good boy, to carry out this indispensable part of the programme; for had he obstinately lived, he must either have passed for the genuine prince, and so the object of the uncle, in the abduction, been defeated; or, if his counterfeit character were discovered, as it certainly would have been, the conspiracy would have been detected, and those engaged in it led to speedy execution. The death of the substitute, therefore, was an essential part of the plot. The French are indeed noted for their politeness. But how could a dozen or twenty men have been so very sure as to risk their lives upon it, that little Monsieur would be so extremely polite as to do the dying for them?

It would seem as if such a mass of direct, positive testimony to the death of Louis Charles Capet, in 1795, might suffice in the absence of any direct proof to the contrary, to establish the fact that the Dauphin was not the Rev. Eleazer Wil liams, of 1853, and the proof is equally clear and direct that the Rev. Eleazer Williams was not the Dauphin, even if we could admit that the latter came to America.

The more direct and positive evidence that Williams was in fact the son of his reputed parents, consists of three affidavits, two of them procured by the *World's* correspondent before alluded to, and one made by his mother. The two former are as follows:

PROVINCE OF CANADA, DISTRICT OF MONTREAL.

Marie Anne Kenewatsenri, of Caughnawaga, in the province and district aforesaid, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposeth and saith: That she is seventy years of age; was born at the village aforesaid, and has ever since resided there. That she knew Tehorakwanekin (Williams). He was very poor; had a large family. He had a son named Lazare (Eleazer). She knew the said Lazare at the age of three or four years; so soon as he was able to run about the streets,

which he then used to do with nothing but a shirt on him, and bare-footed and bare-legged. As Lazare grew up and was able, he did little chores for different people in the village, such as carrying water and going for the cows, which he would do for a piece of bread or something else to eat. Deponent further says that said Lazare was often fed at her mother's house. He frequently went to a baker named Beaugran, in the village, offering to do something for a piece of bread. Deponent remembers he often came to her mother's cabin to get food. The deponent remembers well when Lazare left Caughnawaga to go to the United States. He might at that time have been twelve or thirteen years of age. After an absence of several years, he returned to his native village of Caughnawaga. He was then a man grown, but deponent knew him to be the once-naked boy of Tehorakwanekin, that she had seen so often running about the village, and that used to be so often at her mother's house to get food. Deponent further says that Lazare's body and limbs may be full of scars from running among rocks, stumps and thorn-bushes, he seldom having sufficient clothes in his youth to protect himself. Deponent declares she cannot write, but she hath made her mark.

her
Marie Anne × Kenewatsenri.
mark.

Sworn before me this 16th day of April, 1853, after being duly interpreted to the said deponent by me.

Ed. N. De Lorimer, J. P.

Province of Canada, District of Montreal.

Charles Soskonharowane, of the village of Caughnawaga, in the province aforesaid, being duly sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, deposeth and saith: That he is sixty-eight years of age, was born in the aforesaid village, and has always resided there; that he knew Thomas Tehorakwanekin (Thomas Williams) and his family. He (Thomas) had many children, and was very poor. He knew his son Eleazer when he was four or five years of age, to the best of deponent's belief. Deponent is a year or two older than Lazare (Eleazer.) He has often seen Eleazer running about the village in the most inclement season,

bare-footed and bare-legged, the blood running down his legs from scratches caused by cold, wet and wind. He, Lazare, continued in this miserably ragged state until he was eight or nine years old. He then began to go on errands in the village for food and clothing. Tehorakwanekin lived on the same side of street that deponent's father did. Eleazer came almost every day to deponent's father's house. Deponent thinks Eleazer's body and limbs must be full of scars from hardships, and running among rocks, briars and thorns, he having at most times nothing on his body but an old shirt. Deponent remembers well when Eleazer left home to go to the United States; he might have been twelve or thirteen years old; he returned a few years after to his native village. He was then a man, and deponent knew him immediately. There are innumerable other incidents connected with Eleazer's days of youth, that deponent could relate to him, which would remove from him the thought of his being the son of the great Anonthica (the Indian name for the King of France). The deponent further saith that Eleazer's father was known to the Americans by the name of Thomas Williams.

Deponent declares he cannot write, and hath made his mark.

his
CHARLES × SOSKONHAROWANE.
mark.

Sworn before me at Caughnawaga this 16th day of April, 1853, after being duly interpreted to deponent by me.

ED. N. DE LORIMIER, J. P.

These witnesses, it should be remembered, were not mere savages, but civilized and christianized people, who understood the nature of an oath as well as most white people. They testify to having known Eleazer as far back as children usually remember their playmates, the elder of the two from the time he was three or four years old, and the younger from the time he was four or five, while it is conceded on all hands that the Dauphin, if he ever came to America at all, did not come till he was in his eleventh year. Mr. Hanson and Dr. Vinton have endeavored to identify Williams as the Dauphin from certain scars on his body which will explain the allusion of

these witnesses to the probability that Lazare's body and limbs may have carried many marks from early exposure. It seems quite credible that the little crescent scar on his shoulder, which Dr. Vinton thought he could almost see, when brought to a clear light, might have resulted from his running in an almost naked condition among the blackberry briars of his native Caughnawaga. But scars or no scars, the testimony of two credible witnesses that they knew him in Caughnawaga at the age of four years, is pretty strong proof that he was not the Dauphin, who it is not pretended ever left Paris till he had passed his tenth year.

In 1824 Mr. Williams applied for admission into the Masonic Lodge at Green Bay. Hon. Henry S. Baird, of Green Bay, who knew Williams from his first appearance there in 1823, and who was for many years Master of the Lodge, and had charge of its records, has placed in the archives of this Historical Society the original application for admission, in Mr. Williams' handwriting, and bearing his signature. I copy, verbatim, the original document as follows:

To the Master, Wardens and Brothers of Menomonee Lodge:

Your petitioner humbly states that, having long had a favorable opinion of your ancient institution, he is desirous of becoming a member thereof, if found worthy.

He was born at Sault St. Louis; is thirty-two years of age; by profession a clergyman.

Eleazer Williams.

Green Bay, Oct. 7, 1824.

"Sault St. Louis" is the ancient name of a locality in the vicinity of Montreal, and is substantially identical with Caughnawaga, where Williams' mother says he was born, and where the depositions just read locate him in early childhood. By his own statement, Williams was but thirty-two years old in 1824, which brings down the date of his birth to 1792, while the Dauphin was born in 1785, seven years earlier.

In the letter accompanying this document, Mr. Baird says of Mr. Williams' age: "When I first saw him in 1823, I supposed him to be about thirty. I have no doubt but his true

age is stated in his petition." Mr. Baird further says: "On one occasion, not long before the *book* appeared, he was on a visit here and met me in a store and said to me, Mr. Baird, I understand that you said that you had the record of the Lodge in which I am recorded as stating my age, in 1824, as being thirty-two years. I informed him 'such was the fact.' He replied, 'It must be a mistake in recording.'" The original document, however, made and subscribed by Williams himself, verifies the record of the Lodge. Mr. Williams, it seems, did not claim to have corrected his own reckoning of his age, but by charging that it was an error in copying admitted that he knew his age in 1824 as well as he did in 1853. He probably did not state to Mr. Baird whether the name of his birthplace was an error in copying, or how it came to be so wide of the mark as the space between Paris in France, and Sault St. Louis in the Province of Lower Canada.

One would suppose that the testimony of Mrs. Williams, the mother of Eleazer, ought to settle the question of his parentage beyond dispute. When Mr. Williams' pretensions first became known, the conductors of a French paper in New York wrote to Father Marcoux, the priest at St. Regis, to procure from Mrs. Thomas Williams an affidavit as to whether Eleazer was her own son or not. He did so, and it was published in Mr. Hanson's book as follows:

State of New York—*Franklin County*—ss.

Personally appeared before me, one of the Justices of the Peace in and for the said county, Mary Ann Williams, and being duly sworn, deposeth and saith: That she is upwards of eighty years of age, but does not know her exact age; that she is the widow of Thomas Williams, and that she is the natural mother of Rev. Eleazer Williams, and that she is aware of his pretension to be the son of Louis XVI, and knows them to be false; that he was her fourth child, and born at Caughnawaga; that at the time of his birth her sister took him to the priest to be baptized, and that her sister gave the priest the name of the child's godfather, which was Lazare, from which the child took

his name; that he was born in the spring—thinks in June; says, when he was about nine years old some of his father's friends from the States came to Caughnawaga and took him and a younger brother away, to send them to school; that some time after he returned home, and had a sore leg that made him lame; that they doctored his leg; that the sore was on his knee; that sometimes it would heal up and break out again, and that they were sometimes fearful he would never get well; that she has no recollection how the scar came on his face; that she never knew of his having any trunk or medals in his possession; that her son Eleazer very strongly resembles his father, Thomas Williams; and says that no person whatever, either clergyman or others, ever advised or influenced her to say that he was her son; that the first intimation she ever had of his pretensions to royal birth was from one William Woodman, an Oneida Indian, who came to her about a year ago and asked her if she would not be willing to go before a magistrate and swear that Eleazer was not her son, but was given her to bring up; she told him she would do no such thing, as she knew him to be her son; that Eleazer has since mentioned to her that some of his friends thought he was not an Indian, but descended from royal parentage; she told him it was no such thing; that he was her own son.

her
MARY ANN × WILLIAMS.
mark.

Subscribed and sworn before me this 28th day of March, 1853.

ALFRED FULTON,
Justice of the Peace.

In taking this affidavit, Mr. Marcoux, the priest of St. Regis, acted as interpreter, in the presence of two Indians, as certified by Justice Fulton. It was published in the *Courier des Etats Unis*, and copied into English papers, in one of which Mr. Hanson found and read it. It was a stunning blow to Mr. Williams' pretensions to royalty. It was a plain, straightforward statement, in positive terms, four or five times repeated, of a woman to the identity of her own son. And how did Mr. Hanson receive it? Listen to what he says, and judge whether it is consistent with the character of an honest inquirer after truth? On page 433 of his book, he says:

"As I folded the paper, I could but smile at the folly of an act which I felt sure would recoil upon its contrivers. I felt sorry for M. de Courcey because I could not allow myself to imagine he was a party to this transparent forgery."

The document might have been a forgery, possibly, but to call it a *transparent* forgery is to betray a want of fairness and honesty of purpose utterly unworthy of the faithful historian and truthful biographer. On the contrary, I appeal to any lawyer to say whether, in any court of justice, it would not be regarded as possessing all the *prima facie* marks of genuineness, simplicity and truth. And it seems that Mr. Hanson, himself, had some impression of this kind lurking beneath his smile of contempt, and felt the imperative necessity of giving up his hopeful as an imposter, or doing something to break the force of this plain and positive testimony of a woman to the identity of the child she bore.

Accordingly Mr. Hanson tells us that he employed one Phineas Atwater to go to Mrs. Williams, and if possible, get another affidavit contradicting the first. He undertook the mission (ostensibly, at least) and as the sequel will show, in respect to every important fact, the mission proved a disastrous failure. Mr. Hanson assumes that Father Marcoux falsely interpreted the first affidavit and the only reason he assigns for this assumption is, that he was a Roman Catholic, and Mr. Williams was a Protestant! In respect to the second, he says:

"He, Mr. Atwater, however, had great embarrassments to contend with, as there was no interpreter in Hogansburg (where he took her), but one entirely in the interest of Mr. Marcoux. But he had to make the best of circumstances, though, as Mrs. Williams was surrounded with Roman Catholic Indians, he could not obtain from her general and full statements. They thronged around her and embarrassed the examination, and it was impossible to keep them from her. However, the old woman having heard the previous affidavit read to her in Indian, determined to dispense with an interpreter, and express what she had to say in her own language and manner, from which it was impossible to make her vary. Her declaration was taken down in Mohawk by

an Indian, and falsely translated by Antoine Barron, the Romish interpreter."

Now before we come to this second affidavit, let us scrutinize these preliminary statements of Mr. Hanson concerning it:

1. "There was no interpreter at Hogansburg, but one in the interest of Father Marcoux." Mrs. Williams lived among her people, only two miles from Hogansburg, and, if this interpreter was not to be trusted, there must have been fifty men within fifteen minutes' ride competent to interpret, and why was not another interpreter procured?

2. The affidavit "was taken down in Mohawk by an Indian" and not by an interpreter. Now, if any one has seen an Indian in regions where the English language prevails, who could write his own language, and could not read, write, and speak English, he has seen a rarity. They always learn to read and write the English language before they do their own. Why could not this Indian have done the interpreting?

3. Mrs. Williams was "surrounded by Indians who embarrassed the examination." How came they to embarrass the examination unless they understood both languages, and knew what was going on? And, if they understood English, why was not some one of this throng called upon to interpret? From 1818 to 1837, I was familiar with the Oneidas, another band of the Six Nations, which had enjoyed no better advantages for acquiring English than those at Hogansburg—first in New York and then at Green Bay—and I never saw a man or woman among them who could not speak English well enough to interpret the substance of this affidavit correctly. "There was but one interpreter at Hogansburg," says Mr. Hanson. Where, then, was this examination had that there should have been but two interpreters and probably a dozen present? Where was the affidavit "taken down?" Was it in Hogansburg, or somewhere else? Who was the Indian who took it down? Was it Eleazer Williams, *alias* the Dauphin, *alias* Louis Charles Capet, *alias* Louis XVII, King of France, or was it some *other* Indian? Upon this point Mr. Hanson does not vouchsafe us any information.

4. "It was impossible to keep the Indians from her," says Mr. Hanson. To demonstrate this impossibility, they must have made strenuous exertions to keep them from her. Why were they so anxious to do this, and why did those Indians embarrass the examination, if they were only endeavoring to get from her a fair and truthful statement of facts? The only explanation Mr. Hanson gives of these unnatural circumstances is that these Indians were all in the interest of Father Marcoux, while the only interest *he* had in the affair was, that he was a Catholic, and Williams was a Protestant!

The document is as follows:

I, Mary Ann Williams, widow of the late Thomas Williams, of Caughnawaga, made a declaration on oath before A. Fulton, Esq., in the month of March last, at the request of Rev. Francis Marcoux, priest of St. Regis, he acting as interpreter, and putting the questions to me; which, being read and explained to me, I found to contain what I did not intend to say, and which is not true. I wish now to correct these errors, so far as my memory will allow, in my native language, without the intervention of any interpreter—that is to say—it is not true, as stated in the affidavit, that no person, priest, or others, ever advised or influenced me to say that Eleazer is my own son. It was Mr. Marcoux, the priest of St. Regis, who urged me, with others, some women, to make the affidavit, and he acted as interpreter on the occasion, as before stated. It is not true also, as stated in the affidavit, that my *adopted son* had a sore leg when he returned from school *the first time* to us. I remember that my husband had a medal which he ordered Charles and Jarvis to pawn to a merchant for him. The names of my children were: Peter, Catharine, Ignatius, Thomas, (Eleazer, adopted), Louisa, John, Hannah, Rhoda, Charles and Jarvis. I recollect going with my husband to Lake George a great many years ago, and took with me Eleazer and another older boy, and that my husband was in the habit of going there almost every year.

her
MARY ANN × WILLIAMS.
mark.

Sworn and subscribed before me this 8th day of July, 1853.

A. FULTON, *Justice of the Peace.*

Now, let us analyze and compare these two affidavits.

The first states:

1. That Eleazer is her own son, when and where he was born, the circumstances of his baptism, and the name then given to him by her sister.

2. That she is aware of his pretensions to be the son of Louis XVI, and knows them to be false.

3. That her son Eleazer very strongly resembles his father.

4. That she had been solicited by an Oneida Indian, William Woodman, to swear that Eleazer was not her son, but was given her to bring up, and had refused to do so, telling him that she knew he was her son.

5. That when Eleazer mentioned to her that some of his friends thought he was of royal parentage, she told him it was no such thing—that he was her own son.

6. That Eleazer, when he returned from school, had a sore leg, etc.

Now let us inquire in what respects the second affidavit contradicts the first.

She says the first affidavit was "read and explained to her." It is not stated by whom it was read and explained, nor have we any authority to assure us whether it was read and explained correctly, or garbled for the purpose of obtaining some sort of a denial which would throw discredit upon the material facts. We have a right to suppose that this reading and explanation was garbled, from the fact that she specifies and contradicts statements which the first affidavit does not contain at all.

She says the affidavit contains *some* things which she did not intend to say, and which are not true, and proceeds to specify what those things are.

1. She says: "It is not true, as stated in the affidavit, that no person, priest or others ever advised or influenced me to say that Eleazer is my own son." This seems to be a contradiction or correction of her former statement as to how she came to make the affidavit. But she does not contradict the statement that Eleazer was her own son.

2. She says: "It is not true, also, as stated in the affidavit, that my adopted son had a sore leg when he returned to us from school *the first time.*" The affidavit asserts no such thing. In that document she says nothing about her *adopted son*, and nothing about any son or his sore leg when he returned from school *"the first time."* Her mentioning *"the first time,"* shows that he visited home more than once, and the circumstances attending the sore leg show that it was at a later period. Besides, the first affidavit does not say that he had the sore leg *when* he returned home but *after* he returned.

3. Again Mrs. Williams says: "I remember that *my husband* had a medal, which he ordered Charles and Jarvis to pawn for him to a merchant."

This is intended to contradict the statement that she never knew of Eleazer's having any trunks or medals in his possession! The matters of the sore leg and about the medals were of no consequence, save as they bore upon Mr. Hanson's attemps to identify Williams with the Dauphin by a scar upon his leg, and by certain medals, etc., he was said to have possessed, while the only medal proved to have been in the family was a copper one, such as the French missionaries were accustomed to give to their converts. The above is the extent to which the second affidavit contradicts the first in regard to having been requested to make the affidavit, and in regard to the time when Eleazer had the sore leg.

The essential point involved in the two affidavits was, whether Eleazer was her own son, or an adopted one. Upon this point there is nothing in the second affidavit, except the word *"adopted,"* twice used, once in the speaking of the sore leg, and again thrown in, in parenthesis, in connection with Eleazer's name in enumerating her children—not in the way of a direct averment, but incidentally only, in speaking of other matters; and how this word *"adopted"* came to be in the second affidavit, we shall see presently. Let it here be noted that she does not contradict the statement three times repeated in the first affidavit, that Eleazer was her own son; nor that he was born at Caughnawaga at a certain time; nor that her sister

took him to the priest for baptism, and gave him the name of Lazare; nor that he strongly resembled his father—nothing of the kind.

Now as the question whether he was her own son or an adopted one, formed the very gist of the whole inquiry, and the one which Mr Hanson was most anxious to get at, if the first affidavit had erroneously called Eleazer her own son five times over, and she wished to correct the statement, is it not marvelously beyond the range of credulity, that she did not state explicitly that Eleazer was not her own, but was a French boy adopted by her at about the age of eleven years—that it was not true that he was born in Caughnawaga—that it was not true that her sister took him to the priest for baptism, and gave him the name of Lazare—that she knew nothing about his father, and could not tell whether he resembled him or not? The contradiction of all the statements in the first affidavit is of the very highest importance to Mr. Hanson's purpose, and if they were untrue, and the woman really desired to correct them, nothing could have been easier or more natural than for her to have done it. Yet notwithstanding the importunity confessed when Mr. Hanson tells us that Mr. Atwater "could not get from her general and full statements," she would do no such thing. The best show they could make of a contradiction of the essential fact of the affidavit, was the incidental use of the word "adopted" in two places; and now we come to the manner in which this word found its way into this remarkable document.

On page 434 Mr. Hanson tells us, that the affidavit was taken down in Mohawk by an Indian, and falsely translated under an oath of fidelity, and he belabors the translator for his perjury—thus impeaching his own witness. Mr. Hanson does not tell us to what extent or in what particulars the translation was false, save in the absence of this one word, "adopted," which was not in it. In a foot note, on page 436, he unundertakes to tell us all about it. He says: "The force of this document lies in the twice used word 'tehotkonen,' 'adopted.' But Barron pretended at the time that he did not know the

meaning of the word." All the authority we have that Mr. Barron did not understand the word, is the statement of Mr. Hanson, who gives us to understand that he was hundreds of miles away from Hogansburg at the time, and if he had any such information he must have received it second or third hand from some other person or persons, and on so vital a point as this he should, by all means, have given us his authority. This Antoine Barron was doubtless a Mohawk half-breed, and learned Mohawk upon his mother's knees, and being sufficiently intelligent and educated to write English with such accuracy as appears in this "translation," it is incredible that this old woman, who could not write her name, used a Mohawk word which Mr. Barron did not understand, and there appears to have been no conceivable motive for his falsifying the document save the one upon which Mr. Hanson sets aside all the evidences against Mr. Williams' pretensions from that quarter, viz: that he was a Catholic, and Williams was a Protestant. We cannot overlook the inconsistency of Mr. Hanson in denouncing Barron as a perjured villian for not translating a word which he did not understand. He would have been a perjured man if he *had* done it. It corresponds well with his pious horror, expressed in another place, at the astounding wickedness of sending a poor old woman to her last account with the crime of perjury on her soul in consequence of Father Marcoux's having falsely translated her testimony. We are almost tempted to inquire where the Rev. Mr. Hanson studied theology to acquire such remarkable notions of moral accountability. With such a sense of the moral responsibility resting upon a poor old squaw for a falsehood told by her interpreter, it is marvelous that he and his Rev. Majesty, Eleazer Williams, should not have refrained from laying upon her conscience a still heavier load of the same kind. But alas!

E'en ministers they ha'e been kenned,
In holy rapture,
A rousin' whid at times to vend,
And nail't wi' scripture.

And in this case the slip was not confined to Father Marcoux. From all Mr. Hanson has said about this affidavit, we cannot avoid the suspicion that the original document contained no such word as "tehotkonen," or if it did, it was coined for the occasion and meant nothing. At any rate, we have the testimony of Mr. Hanson's own witness, that the woman used no word which meant "adopted."

On page four hundred and thirty-four, immediately preceding the affidavit, Mr. Hanson says: "I give it in both languages, *having corrected the translation.*"

Exactly so; Mr. Hanson *corrected the translation!* He does not give us the translation as it came from Mr. Barron, and his own translation, side by side, nor tell us to what extent he corrected the translation; but he does confess to this much, that he interpolated into Barron's translation the word *"adopted,"* in two places, and which he says truly, gives the document all its force.

It is quite natural to inquire what special qualifications Mr. Hanson had for correcting a translation from the Mohawk language. He was a quiet clergyman in the State of New York, and Mr. Williams was probably the first, and very likely the only Mohawk Indian he ever saw. How, then, came he to know more about Mohawk than a man who spoke it as his native tongue? Of course Mr. Hanson did not make this correction himself, though he says he did. Who it was will appear when the real operator in this affair stands revealed. Suffice it here to say that in all that gives it the least force or effect, this affidavit stands before us a confessed forgery, while the first, at which Mr. Hanson smiled so contemptuously, and which he labored so unscrupulously to falsify, bears still all the marks of genuineness and truth. If a man should offer an affidavit in a court, in a case involving the heirship to an estate, and it should be proved that he had made such an interpolation, he would be sent to the penitentiary for forgery for a good long term.

Thus much for the *prima facie* merits of the two affidavits, with Mr. Hanson's own explanations concerning the second one.

But we are not left to this evidence, conclusive as it is, as to the origin of the second affidavit. In *Putnam* for July, 1868, the cat jumps out of the bag in which it had been so carefully concealed by Mr. Hanson. In that number of *Putnam,* Rev. C. F. Robertson, the literary executor of Mr. Williams, who came in possession of his private papers, shows up the origin of this second affidavit in a manner harmonizing perfectly with the evidence of fraud it bears upon its face. Mr. Robertson says:

"In giving this affidavit Mr. Hanson makes no mention of Mr. Williams' connection with it, but says it was uttered freely by Mrs. Williams in Mohawk, and afterwards translated into English. What surprised us, therefore, in looking over the papers, was to find several memoranda in Mr. Williams' handwriting in English, which showed that the affidavit had really been composed by him. There were rough copies containing erasures and interlineations, showing how the affidavit had been made up, and all indicating an apparent purpose to steal the the desired avowal from his mother without making too broad an issue. In order, therefore, to get at the truth of the matter, I wrote to the Justice before whom both the affidavits were sworn, and desired him to state the circumstances as he remembered them. His answer was as follows:"

Justice Fulton states the circumstances of the taking of the first affidavit, which was done at his office, and was the result of free, fair, and unconstrained examination, and there was no reason to doubt the truth of the statements it contained. Concerning the second, he says:

"The second affidavit was taken at the hotel, Mr. Williams and another gentleman, with Antoine Barrow (or Barron, as Mr. Hanson has it) being present. I had no particular knowledge of the matter until called to take the affidavit, when I found the parties above named, with Mrs. Williams in the room, and a discussion going on between Mr. Williams and Barrow, about the meaning of an Indian word which was to make the mother say that he was adopted. I took the affidavit made by Mrs. Williams, but I never thought that she intended

to say that Eleazer was an adopted son, but she seemed very much surprised that he should claim to be any other than her own son. This was always her answer, except in this single instance. I have never believed she understood the word or intended to say what she was made to say in the last affidavit. I think you will find it rather artfully drawn, and that it does not present that appearance of truth and frankness as the first. Certainly if I am mistaken in my view, it was very forcibly impressed on my mind by the circumstances under which the two affidavits were taken."

Here, then, Mr. Williams pops out as the real engineer and author of this remarkable document, while Mr. Atwater, whom Mr. Hanson parades before the public as the agent in the matter, was merely the bag in which Mr. Hanson attempted to conceal the Rev. Eleazer. When I first saw this document, long before I saw the *exposé* by Mr. Robertson, I at once pronounced it the work of Eleazer Williams. It looked exactly like one of his smart tricks, for which he was famous at Green Bay when I knew him there. Mr. Hanson gives us to understand that the examination took place in the presence of the Justice—that the Indians thronged around the old woman and embarrassed the examination, and could not be kept from her. Now it stands revealed by Mr. Williams' own papers, and the testimony of Justice Fulton, that the affidavit was first drawn up in English by Williams himself in the privacy of his own study—that Rev. Eleazer Williams, Mr. Hanson's Dauphin, Louis XVII, King of France, was the identical Indian who took down the affidavit in Mohawk from his own English manuscript, and that by false representations of its contents he managed to get his mother's mark and oath thereto, not in the presence of a crowd of Indians, as represented by Mr. Hanson, but in the presence only of the Justice, Mr. Atwater, and Mr. Barron; and that he then, to cover his tracks, tried to get Barron to adopt his English version of it, which Barron refused to do, because, in its essential statement, he knew it contained what the mother did

not say, and did not intend to say, and the Rev. Eleazer was obliged to father it himself.

Of this "transparent forgery" Mr. Hanson must have been fully cognizant, and made himself a party to it; and so anxious was he to keep the agency of his royal *protege* out of sight, that he even stood godfather to it himself! Mr. Robertson more than intimates that Williams' papers afford proof that a large part of the evidence which Mr. Hanson has arrayed in support of Williams' claims, originated in much the same way that this affidavit did. Most writers who have criticised Mr. Hanson's work, have accorded to him honest intentions. With such facts as the foregoing staring me in the face, I can do no such thing. To my mind the evidence is conclusive, that Mr. Hanson conspired with Mr. Williams to impose upon the credulity of the public a sensational book which they thought would sell. The only alternative to this conclusion is, to accord to him either idiocy or insanity, and exemption from all moral responsibility whatever.

The two documents, then, are reduced to a question of personal knowledge between Mr. Williams and his mother as to whether he was her son or not. In the first, *she* says repeatedly that he was; in the second, *he* says incidentally that he was not. Need I ask which of the two knew best about it?

The true Dauphin is represented to have been imbecile—almost idiotic—and to make his childhood correspond with that of the Dauphin, and to avoid all embarrassing questions concerning his early recollections, Mr. Williams pretended that prior to his being sent to Lake George to school, at the age of twelve or thriteen years, his life was all a blank—he knew nothing at all about it; but while there, as he tells us, he had a fall into Lake George, and immediately all his mental faculties came to him bright and strong. It is a little curious that in 1815, a few years after this remarkable event, he had no recollection of its occurrence, but remembered it distinctly in 1853. It seems probable that the event actually occurred, as several other persons remembered it, and the effect was wonderful.

Perhaps this was the origin of the hydropathic practice. Most great discoveries are made by accident, and why not this one? At any rate, it seems to have had a miraculous effect upon young Williams, for it not only cured him of idiocy, but enabled him, forty years afterwards, to know more about his parentage, and the circumstances of his birth, than his own mother did. And if Mr. Hanson had taken a ducking in the same lake, it might have taught him better than to father such a "transparent forgery," and confess it, in black and white, with his own pen! When any of my friends wish for hydropathic treatment, I shall, by all means, commend them to Lake George. Its waters must be better than all the waters of Isreal; for Naaman, the Syrian, had to dip seven times in the Jordan to be cured of his leprosy; but one dip in Lake George was sufficient to cure Eleazer, the Dauphin, of his idiocy.

I will only add some personal recollections concerning Mr. Williams, and of the character he bore at Green Bay, where he was well known.

First as to his Indian blood. I became a resident of Green Bay in the year 1828, and knew Williams well from that time till I left there in 1837. For some time we boarded at the same table, and I was almost as familiar with his appearance as I am with that of any person in Madison; and I should as soon suspect any one of my Madison acquaintances of being a pure Indian, as that Eleazer Williams was a pure European. Williams had, undoubtedly, white blood in his veins. His mother, as before remarked, was one-quarter white, and his father was of mixed blood. I was familiar with mixed blood of every grade, from octoroon whites to octoroon Indians. Half breeds, as every one knows who has seen much of frontier life, present opposite extremes of complexion in different individuals, some being nearly white and others being darker, even, than pure Indians. Eleazer Williams and his wife presented these opposite extremes, though Madame probably had the advantage in the proportion of white blood. She was the daughter of a Canadian Frenchman, and a pure Menomonee woman,

and yet she would have passed for a brunette French woman, while Williams would have passed for a pure Indian, with just a suspicion of the African in his complexion and features. Gov. Cass, who was as familiar with every variety of mixed bloods as any man in the country, ridiculed the idea that Williams, whom he knew well, was a pure Frenchman, and declared in a published article that he was a fair type of the Indian half breed. Again, when Mr. Williams first imposed his pretensions upon Rev. Dr. Hawks, and that worthy divine announced the supposed discovery to the world through a New York paper, Gen. A. G. Ellis, himself a decided churchman, and who had known Williams almost from boyhood, and knew his father also, exposed the fraud in an article published in his paper, the *Wisconsin Pinery*. Among other things, Gen. Ellis spoke of Thomas Williams visiting his son at Oneida, I think it was, and that the resemblance between young Williams and his father was so strong and marked as to attract the notice of every one who saw them. And yet Mr. Hanson repeatedly asserts that Mr. Williams had the complexion and features of a pure European, and is at immense pains to make out his resemblance to the Bourbons. He must have known better. No man ever saw a pure blooded European of any nation, with the *complexion* especially, of Mr. Williams.

Finally, the character and reputation of Mr. Williams. Mr. Hanson, aware that a large portion of the evidence he had adduced in support of his claims, depended entirely upon the truth of Mr. Williams' own statements, labors throughout his book to keep the reader impressed with the idea that he was a modest, devoted, self-sacrificing Christian missionary, who had worn himself out in unrequited toil for the religious improvement of the Indians, and whose integrity was above the slightest suspicion. In all this it would be generous to suppose that Mr. Hanson was deceived, though facts seem to forbid that even generosity should concede so much. He knew that Williams was concerned with him in the forgery committed upon Mrs. Williams' second affidavit, and having

joined in this flagrant conspiracy, we have a right to suppose they did it in others; and before Mr. Hanson's book was published, Mr. Williams' moral delinquencies had become matters of ecclesiastical cognizance.

The Montreal correspondent of the *World,* in the *exposé* before alluded to, gives a specimen of detected dishonesty in Mr. Williams' early manhood. He informs us that in 1812, the Indians of Caughnawaga empowered Williams to draw for them a small annuity of $266 due them from the State of New York, and the Indians affirmed that he drew this amount regularly from 1812 to 1820, but not one cent of it ever reached them. By one dodge or another he managed to keep the business in his own hands until the latter year, when the Indians laid the matter before the Canadian Government, and that Government called to it the attention of the Government of New York, and the payment to Williams was suspended.

This transaction corresponds very well with his general character while at Green Bay. Nominally a missionary to the Oneidas located in that vicinity, under the patronage of a Missionary Society, he draw his salary, not large, it is true, but he did nothing, or next to nothing for them or for anybody else. He rarely preached to either Indians or white men, and spent but very little time with the people of his nominal charge, but was continually boring the poor souls for money to eke out a living. The Indians finally informed the Mission Society that Williams did nothing for them, and only wanted money, and requested that he might be removed, and some one appointed in his place; and the request was complied with. He was a fat, lazy, good-for-nothing Indian; but cunning, crafty, fruitful in expedients to raise the wind, and unscrupulous about the means of accomplishing it. During the last four or five years of my acquaintance with him, I doubt whether there was a man at Green Bay whose word commanded less confidence than that of Eleazer Williams. His character for dishonesty, trickery and falsehood became so notorious and scandalous that respectable Episcopalians preferred charges

against him to Bishop Onderdonk. But, as Mr. Williams was located in the diocese of Wisconsin, under Bishop Kemper, the Bishop of New York disclaimed jurisdiction of the case; and, as Williams was there under a commission from a society in New York, Bishop Kemper disclaimed jurisdiction of the case, and in consequence of these counter-disclaimers, the charges were never investigated.

Mr. Hanson has much to say about Mr. Williams' delicate health, and a constitution broken down by his missionary labors and privations. I can well conceive that Mr. Hanson may have been deceived in this matter, notwithstanding Eleazer's rotundity, and the justice he could do to a good dinner when not playing his favorite *role;* for it was an old trick of his to be in very delicate health when he had an object to accomplish by it. An instance of this kind was related to me by Gen. Ellis more than thirty-five years ago, but which I think I can repeat with substantial accuracy.

In the fall of 1830, Col. Stambaugh, then Indian agent at Green Bay, went to Washington with a delegation of New York Indians and Menomonees, to settle a dispute between them concerning a purchase of land which the former had made of the latter by treaty. Williams of course was one of the Oneida delegation. He was always on the lookout for little jobs of this kind, which Mr. Hanson magnifies into instances of self-sacrifice to the interests of the Indians; but anything was a God-send to him, which would pay expenses, and furnish him with good dinners.

And Williams managed to make these instances of "self-sacrifice" pay pretty well, besides.

On one of these occasions, the treaty of Buffalo Creek, in 1838, the Government appropriated thirty-three thousand dollars for the services of the Oneida Chiefs and head men. Mr. Baird, the gentleman before alluded to in connection with Mr. Williams' application to the Masonic Lodge, was appointed Commissioner to disburse the money. Mr. Williams put in a claim upon this fund of ten thousand. Mr. Baird recently

informed me, that in adjusting the several claims, he allowed Mr. Williams five thousand five hundred dollars, and actually paid him that amount. On every similar occasion he received large sums of money from the Government, and in one instance twenty-five hundred acres of land in his wife's name, in a valuable location on Fox river. In the course of these "self-denying services for the Indians," of which Mr. Hanson makes such a virtue, he must have received from the Government not less than twenty thousand dollars in cash; and with such large pay from the Government, any one can judge whose interests he had labored most to promote, those of the Indians or of the Government. There was one Indian, however, whose interests were never overlooked, and that Indian's name was Eleazer Williams. Yet, with true Indian improvidence, his money went as easily as it came, and he was always poor, and always in debt. Precisely how much he received under the negotiations conducted by Col. Stambaugh, I am not able to say; but it must have been quite sufficient to atone for the self-denial of spending a winter at a hotel in Washington. But I have wandered a little from the anecdote I was about to relate, illustrative of Mr. Williams' delicate health.

Gen. Ellis accompanied Stambaugh's mission in 1830 as Secretary.

Arriving in Buffalo, they tarried two or three days. While there, Mr. Williams, Gen. Ellis and others were invited to tea at the house of a wealthy Episcopalian of that city. They were seated at a richly-furnished table, spread with a great variety of delicacies. The hostess asked Mr. Williams whether he would take tea or coffee? He replied, neither; his health did not admit of his taking either tea or coffee. Would he have a glass of milk? No; his stomach would not bear milk at all. What would he have to drink? Would he be free to mention anything that would agree with him? He would take a cup of warm water with a very little milk in it. Then the problem was to find something he could eat. Would Mr. Williams be helped to some of this dish? No; his stomach

was so delicate he could not bear it. Then would he have some of that dish? Oh! no; his stomach would not bear any such thing; his health was so miserable he was obliged to be extremely careful about his diet. They went through their bill of fare, offering in turn everything there was upon the table; but there was nothing his delicate stomach would bear. In much embarrassment, and almost in despair, the lady begged him to mention anything which would agree with him, and if possible she would get it. If convenient he would take a very thin bit of dry toast. So he sat and nibbled his dry toast, and sipped his cup of warm water. Returning to their hotel about eleven o'clock the same evening, Williams rallied a waiter, ordered him to set on a cold ham and other substantials to match, and sat down for a square meal; "and," Gen. Ellis added, with emphasis, "I verily believe he ate four pounds of that ham before he left the table." He then rose, gave a hearty Indian chuckle, and went to bed; and the General could not perceive that his delicate stomach was any the worse for it the next day. This trick he was in the habit of playing before there had been sufficient time for much wear and tear in missionary labor. He would resort to it when among strangers, wherever he thought he could excite a little sympathy, and possibly induce a donation by the means.

This is the whole secret of Mr. Williams' broken-down constitution and delicate health, of which Mr. Hanson has so much to say in his book. It is marvelous that it did not occur to him to admonish his royal foundling to take another dip into Lake George. The effect might have been as magical upon his delicate stomach as it had before been upon his weak head. Eleazer was built very much like a hogshead, largest in the middle and tapering a little both ways, and if you could have seen him eat, when free from restraint, you would have thought him about as hollow. But not to exaggerate, in his capacity for eating he was a match for the hungriest Indian *I* ever saw; and I do not think that any one about the Bay, while I lived there, ever suspected that his

health was not as firm as that of most men, and if it afterwards became impaired, it must have been the result of something else than labors performed, and hardships endured, as a missionary to the Indians.

Completely bankrupt in character and credit at Green Bay, Williams went to Washington and set up for an Indian and Claim Agent, and became his own chief customer. In this capacity he failed, for the obvious reason that no one had any confidence in him. The next we hear of him he turns up in New York as the "Lost Prince"—his last, final dodge to excite sympathy and eke out a subsistence upon the public credulity and charity; and he carried the joke so far with himself as actually to issue a proclamation, in which he used the personal pronoun in the first person plural, after the manner of kings and editors.

It seems, according to Mr. Hanson, that in the midst of his newly-found honors, Williams' heart still clung fondly to his missionary work, and he was only anxious to *raise money* to build a church at Duck Creek, the scene of his former "self-denying labors." This object was extensively advertised by Mr. Hanson, but how much money he raised under this false pretence, does not appear. Certain it is that none of it ever appeared at Duck Creek.

It is no desirable task to deal thus with the character of one who has passed from the scenes of earth. But when the integrity of history is concerned, involving so grave a question as the title to a throne, and possibly the future peace of a great nation, and when the friends of the pretender still persist in maintaining his claims, not even the grave should protect the character of the impostor or his abettors from any scrutiny which may contribute to the formation of a just estimate of the evidence they may have conjured up in support of such claims.

Finally, his own dupes seem to have voted Williams a bore, and abandoned him to obscurity and want, in which condition he died, separated from his family, at his lonely home

in Hogansburg, on the 28th of August, 1858. Thus ended the career of a man who possessed all the antecedant characteristics which could fit him to become what he was—not the Crown Prince of France, but the crown prince of modern impostors. Verily, Williams was great, and Hanson was his prophet.

Addendum

The publication of the foregoing in the Milwaukee *Daily Sentinel,* soon after it was read before the Historical Society, brought out some curious revelations concerning the origin of Mr. Hanson's theory of "The Lost Prince," which would seem to settle the whole question as to its reliability, upon very satisfactory authority.

A few days after the publication of my paper, I received a note from Col. H. E. Eastman, a well known lawyer of this State, informing me that he had read my paper on The Lost Prince—that it was good, but very incomplete—that perhaps he could throw more light on the subject than any other man living, and quite as much as the dead Dauphin, were he still on earth. In brief, that he was the originator of the idea and story of Williams being the Lost Prince, conceived and written in leisure days while reading French history, and becoming much interested in the misfortunes of the Bourbons, but never intended as anything more than a romance, which he might, sometime, publish. That, at the same time, he had some business relations with Mr. Williams, and became quite intimate with him; and this circumstance led him to adopt him as the hero of the tale. Finding that Williams was amused and flattered by the idea, he lent him his manuscripts, from time to time to read at his leisure. He afterwards learned that Williams had them all copied. This, Mr. Eastman thinks, was in the summer of 1847, and the winter of 1847–48.

Busy times came on in the spring of 1848, and Col. Eastman says he thought no more of his romance; and he adds,

"you were none of you so much astonished as I was when I went into Burley Follett's book store at Green Bay, one day in 1853, and bought a number of *Putnam's Magazine*, containing a startling discovery of the mislaid Dauphin, in my own language, *all* but the affidavits and other *special* proofs which I never had any purpose of procuring. My facts were drawn entirely from imagination." Among his imaginary facts, Col. Eastman mentioned to me the evidence which was said to have been found at New Orleans, and some which Williams pretended to have derived from other sources, and which he assured me were pure fictions of his romance.

Learning the above facts from Col. Eastman, I urged him to make a detailed statement of the facts concerning the origin of the Williams' Dauphin story for publication with my paper, in these *Collections*. He expressed some delicacy about appearing in print with such an *exposé*, but encouraged me to hope that he would do so. As the volume was about being put into the hands of the printer, I renewed this request, and was sorry to receive only the following, which, however, in connection with the corroborative evidence which follows it, is quite sufficient to establish the origin and fictitious character of Mr. Hanson's "Lost Prince."

Col. Eastman's Letter

AGENCY OF HOPE MUTUAL LIFE INS. CO. OF NEW YORK.
MILWAUKEE, WIS., May 27, 1872.

Hon. Jno. Y. Smith, Madison:

DEAR SIR:—On my return from the north counties two days ago, I found your favor of the 18th in further relation to the subject of the "Lost Prince." I have no excuse for not keeping my promise to furnish you with "a statement of some facts relative to the origin of Hanson's book," except that I put it off from time to time, and hesitated and lingered until I came at last to doubt the propriety of taking upon myself the office of the iconoclast *at all*, until there should seem to be some more excuse for so much wantonness with so little gratification.

I do not, however, object to your referring to me "as the origi-

nator of the idea in the form of a romance," or of making use of such facts as you already possess in proof of that proposition. It will be a more appropriate time for *me* to appear when it is combatted or disputed. I promise you then abundant corroborative testimony. I shall be able to prove, or to enable *you* to prove, that the original story of the "Lost Prince" was *my* story; that it had no claim or pretense above a moderately ingenious, if somewhat extravagant romance; that the manuscript, or a copy of it, was surreptitiously obtained from me by Rev. Williams; that it was several years in his hands before he got the courage, or conceived the folly, of claiming my fictions as his facts; that when Mr. Hanson builded *his* book—in three acts and an epilogue—he had my model before him, of which he adopted something more than the name and theory.

It is right to tell you, however, that I shall be willing to forego the *glory* of the monstrous conception, if it is not already too late to be saved the mortification of having been so monstrously absurd.

Truly yours,

H. E. Eastman.

Col. Eastman, for confirmation of his statements, referred me to Hon. T. O. Howe, U. S. Senator from Wisconsin, with whom he was a law partner at Green Bay about the time he wrote his story of the Lost Prince, and to Col. James H. Howe, who was at the same time a law student in the same office, and since Attorney General of the State; each of whom, he thought, would remember his writing and talking on the subject. I wrote to both these gentlemen, and their replies are subjoined.

Letter of Senator Howe

Washington, April 30, 1870.

My Dear Sir:—If I had any recollections upon which I placed any reliance, I would cheerfully communicate them to you. This one recollection I do rely upon, to-wit: That the first I ever heard of the idea that Williams claimed to be the lost Dauphin, I heard from Col. Eastman. I heard it from him soon after I came to Wisconsin in 1845. It was some considerable time be-

fore the publication of Mr. Hanson's first paper. Col. Eastman recited to me proofs substantially as they were subsequently stated by Mr. Hanson.

If he ever put his narration on paper, I never knew it or have forgotten it. If he had ever been in communication with Mr. Hanson before the narration of the latter appeared in print, I never knew it, or have forgotten it. My impression always has been, that Mr. Hanson wrote under the promptings of Mr. Williams himself. My impression is that he wrote while Mr. Williams was in New York. But I cannot recall the circumstances upon which that impression rests.

Yours very truly,

Hon. Jno. Y. Smith, Madison, Wis. T. O. Howe.

Thus Senator Howe's recollections coincide with Col. Eastman's statement, that Hanson or Williams used his fictions for their facts, years after the fictions were invented; and also that Williams obtained them from Eastman and communicated them to Hanson to work up. Col. Eastman does not claim to have had any communication with Hanson.

The recollections of Col. Howe are more full and distinct, and show conclusively the origin of the material which Mr. Williams furnished to Mr. Hanson, and which formed the text of the book edited and enlarged by him.

Col. Howe's Letter

Chicago and Northwestern Railway Solicitor's Office,
Chicago, Apr. 29, 1870.

Hon. J. Y. Smith, Madison:

Dear Sir: I have received your favor of the 27th inst.

In the winter of 1847–48, Col. H. E. Eastman occupied an office with Hon. T. O. Howe at Green Bay, Wis., with whom I was then reading law. On one occasion during that winter, I accompanied Col. Eastman to Mr. Eleazer Williams' house on the bank of Fox river above Depere. Col. Eastman stated the object of his visit to be to show Williams some manuscript he had been writing, proving that he, Williams, was the Dauphin of France.

The story, as related to me, was in substance the same as the one afterwards published in *Putnam's Magazine*. I saw the manuscript on several occasions during that winter, and portions of it were read to me.

I regarded it as an ingenious, well gotten-up story, but never thought of believing it to be true.

Yours Truly,

JAMES H. HOWE.

Thus it appears that the wonderful discovery of the "Lost Prince," and the noise it has made in the world, originated much in the same way as did the Book of Mormon—written originally as a romance, and the main idea and substance of the story subsequently stolen, and palmed off for veritable revelations.

NOTE.—Of the Wisconsin witnesses brought forward by Hon. John Y. Smith in the preceding paper, the high character of Hon. T. O. Howe is too well known to require any endorsement at home or abroad; his nephew, Col. James H. Howe, formerly attorney general of Wisconsin, afterwards serving with reputation at the head of one of the Wisconsin regiments in the late war, and since filling honored and responsible positions in the Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company, is equally worthy of the fullest credence. Hon. Henry S. Baird, a resident of Green Bay since July, 1824, has filled many offices of high public trust, and his character stands unimpeachable for integrity and reliability; and the same may be said of Gen. Albert G. Ellis, who came in 1821 with Eleazer Williams, to Wisconsin, and was much associated with him.

Mr. Baird scouts Williams' claim to the Dauphinship and speaks of him as "possessing a certain degree of shrewdness and cunning—somewhat on the Jesuitical order. He was a good deal of the Indian in regard to prodigality and improvidence, being always in want, although he had received from the Government, from time to time, liberal grants both in land and money. As to his claim to royalty, I am a stubborn unbeliever. I first saw him in 1823, he appeared to be about thirty years of age, which corresponds with his own statement in his application for lodge membership in 1824, in which he stated his age at thirty-two. The whole story of the Lost Prince, in my opinion, he palmed off upon the credulous author of the book. I send you for the Historical Society Williams' original application to the lodge."

In Gen. Ellis' paper on the *Advent of the New York Indians to Wisconsin*, in the 2d vol. *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, he speaks of Eleazer Williams as a descendant of Rev. John Williams of Deerfield memory. That in 1806, at the age of fourteen—thus corroborating Williams' own account that he was born in 1792—he was sent to Long Meadow, Massachusetts, in care of Dr. Ely, for an education, and returned to his people in 1811, after five years' absence. That Williams was a natural orator, graceful and persuasive, possessed a "vaulting ambition," "tact and skill;" and, in time, conceived "the ambitious design" of securing the migration of the New York Indians to the region of Green Bay, and there founding an Indian republic; "to be a mixture, civil, military, and ecclesiastic—the latter to be pre-eminent."

Col. H. E. Eastman, who playfully originated the "Lost Prince" story, is a well known lawyer of Wisconsin. He was at one time Mayor of Green Bay, and served during the late war first as Major, and then Lieutenant Colonel of Second Wisconsin Cavalry, from Nov., 1861, until July, 1864.

Whether we refer to our worthy fellow citizen, Hon. J. Y. Smith, now forty-four years a resident of Wisconsin, and who is a keen observer of character, yet disposed to mete out the full measure of impartial justice to all, or to Hon. Henry S. Baird, Gen. Albert G. Ellis, Hon. Morgan L. Martin, Hon. Randall Wilcox, and all our early settlers who knew Williams well, and with whom we have conversed or corresponded on the subject, all unite in scouting his pretensions to the Dauphinship, and ascribing to him a low grade of moral character.

Since the preceding was in type, the July number, 1872, of the *American Historical Record* has come to hand, containing a note on Eleazer Williams, by the distinguished antiquary and historian, John G. Shea, LL. D., which we deem appropriate to cite in this connection:

"Eleazer Williams.—Was not this person insane, or led away by strange delusions? While in Canada, and with the journal and map of Marquette's voyage in my hands, which I subsequently published, I received a letter from the office of the Secretary of State at Albany, stating that the Rev. Eleazer Williams proposed to sell to the State Marquette's original journal and map, which with other papers he had found in a box in the wall of the church at Sault St. Louis, Canada, at a time when it was abandoned and in ruins. I replied stating that it was notorious at St. Louis, that the church had not been in any such ruinous state; the present church having been built by the then incumbent, Rev. Mr. Marcou, who took down the old church. The box-finding was therefore clearly a delusion.

"The fact that I had the journal and map in my hands, rather favored the idea that he had fallen into a delusion on that point also.

"What could have been his object, I could not tell; but though I printed the document he pretended to have, and wished to sell, he never produced them, before or after my publication, to correct or dispute my work. He could not have found them as he pretended; he could not have had them. When, at a later day, he claimed to be Louis XVII I put it down as simply another freak of an evidently insane man. Indianologists assure me that his ears were a sure mark of his Indian origin."

L. C. D.

First House and First Resident Family of Madison

The two following papers, relating to some incidents in the early history of Madison, the first written by W. H. Canfield, Esq., and the other by Mrs. Roseline Peck, originally appeared in the Baraboo *Republic* of March 8th, and April 19th, 1860—Mrs. Peck having recently made some additions to her narrative. They require some explanation. In the Report on the Picture Gallery of the Society, contained in the fourth volume of the Society's *Collections,* it became necessary to give some historic notice of the *First House in Madison,* an oil painting of which had been preserved at the instance of Gen. Simeon Mills, and by him generously presented to the Society; and as Featherstonhaugh's work was not generally known, and he had given a piquant narrative of his visit to Madison, in 1837, when the place contained but the one house, an extract from his early work, giving the *then* impressions of the writer, was deemed preferable to the faded recollections of some old pioneer, of events that had transpired twenty-two years before.

It was not then known to the editor, who furnished the extract to the Picture Gallery Report, that Mr. Featherstonhaugh had exaggerated these facts, or done violence to truth, or proper caution would have been exercised; but at most, his statements, even had they been substantially true, so far as they relate to Mrs. Peck and her house, are harmless—containing no tinge of reproach upon her worth or character. We cannot but think, in the judgment of charity, that Mrs. Peck has unintentionally, magnified Mr. Featherstonhaugh's "squibs," as she terms them into an unmerited attack upon her fair name and character. The wonder is, under all the untoward circumstances, not that the worthy pioneer family of Madison had so few comforts and accommodations, but that they had so many, and dispensed them to weary travelers, like Mr. Featherstonhaugh, with so liberal and cheerful a hand. Mrs. Peck and family are still pleasantly remembered by all the early residents of Madison.

Mr. Featherstonaugh, who long filled the post of British consul at Havre, died in that city, September 28, 1866. While we regret that our use of an extract from his *Travels* should have unintentionally wounded Mrs. Peck's feelings, it is

some consolation to know, that the thoughtless blunder has called forth, as the reader will see, a valuable narrative, which throws much new light on matters and things in the early days of Madison. Would that she would resume her facile pen, and give us other reminiscences of those primitive times.

A more particular notice of the pioneer family of Madison is desirable. Eben Peck was born in Shoreham, Addison county, Vermont, in 1804, and was taken to Middlebury, Genesee, now Wyoming county, New York, by his parents when quite a child, and, on his return to Vermont in 1827, he established himself in business in Middletown, Rutland county. There he was married Feburary 24, 1829, to Miss Roseline Willard,* a native of Middletown, born February 24, 1808; the wedding taking place in the house in which she was born, with her parents, grand-parents, and numerous friends and relatives present. In 1832 they moved to Middlebury, New York, and thence, as Mrs. Peck's statement shows, in 1836, to Blue Mounds.

Mr. Peck went to California and Oregon in 1844; and though since reported as in Texas or New Mexico, is supposed to have been massacred by savages when crossing the plains.

L. C. D.

Mr. Editor:—Will you permit me, through the columns of the *Republic*, to express an opinion relative to a description given in the last Report of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, of the first house in Madison, and its occupants.

To an individual who has adopted Wisconsin for his home, and who takes a lively interest in its people as well as country, and its civilizing institutions, and especially to one who settled here as early as 1842, and paid his tax of 250 miles travel to get his grist, there is, of course, a fraternizing feeling with those who were his early neighbors.

I was highly gratified and amused in perusing most of the Report, but who is there that does not feel indignant at the puerile, bombastic and flippant description of the first house and the first white woman of Madison, by G. W. Featherstonhaugh. I think the Chairman of the picture Gallery Report should have been better informed about that first house and its occupants. And even if it were true to the letter, there are

* Her mother was Julia Ann Burnham: and her grandmother Burnham (wife of John Burnham, an able lawyer of the Bennington bar) was a sister of Gen. Isaac Clark, of Castleton, Vt., a soldier of the Revolution, known as Old Rifle, and who commanded a regiment in the War of 1812, making a successful expedition against Massequoi, Lower Canada, Oct. 12, 1813; was a member of the Constitutional Convention, and judge of the county court; died at Castleton, Jan. 31, 1822, aged 73 years. General Clark was the grandfather of Hon. Satterlee Clark, an early pioneer of Wisconsin, and for many years a prominent member of the State senate.

L. C. D.

The First House in Madison

From oil painting by Mrs. Bailey, based on recollections (about 1872) of pioneers. Now in possession of Mrs. Arthur C. Mills, Madison. Lake Monona (Third Lake) is represented to the left.

some parts of it that would have been better left out. It looks on the face of it as though the "great English Geologist" wished to amuse his own and the Londoners' cultivated feelings, by picturing American scenes as supremely ridiculous as possible, in order to do which, some scientific lying would certainly be admissible.

If I am correctly informed,

1st. Mr. Eben Peck and family did not move from Milwaukee, but direct from Genesee county, N. Y., to the Blue Mounds, in their carriage, and rented Ebenezer Brigham's tavern stand. While there, they became acquainted with the Hon. James D. Doty, and with him made an arrangement to go to Madison.

2d. G. W. Featherstonhaugh came after A. A. Bird's first arrival.

3d. The building (that part that was then being used, the other two not yet completed), was 18 by 24, with a door of common height, and well constructed, with a water-tight roof made of shakes or long split oak shingles.

4th. He slept on a good feather-bed, on a decent bedstead, covered with clean, nice clothes, and protected by curtains. Mr. Peck and his wife slept in one corner of the room in a bed similarly protected, and he in the other.

5th. He not only had plenty of "pork to bolt," but a good variety of knick-knacks, coffee and sugar, they having brought all these things by large quantities, not being able to replenish on account of the great distance to be conveyed, and expecting a large number of hands, besides guests.

6th. He did not leave the next morning, but staid and fished upon the lakes, remaining two or three days. On one occasion he got two squaws to take him out to fish. Dropping in the hook and enticing bait, he soon got a "nibble," and gave such a twitch as to nearly upset them all. The squaws laughed heartily at the "big pull."

7th. The whole quotation is false, except that he was there about that date.

Read on pages 90 to 93 of the report, and see if it bears out

this idea, that is, that Mr. G. W. Featherstonhaugh wished to "see the elephant" and get nearly "kilt" for the sake of Buncombe. See the blustering Scotch John Bull, whooping and hallooing, and rapidly giving vent to his poetical fancies, as he passes through the woods.

I say, let the first lady of the city of Madison, and the first child born therein, have justice done to their memories; and in describing the picture of the first house, not to go to London to get a bundle of untrue statements, when the occupants of that house still live, and can describe that picture minutely, and give much more amusing and useful recollections of the old castle. I wish that we could hear from this lady herself, who now lives near Baraboo. She was also the first white woman of Baraboo. Her recollections of Madison and Baraboo, put upon paper, would be treasured up in the minds and libraries of the present and future generations. Let us hear. W. H. C.

Ed. Republic.—I, a few weeks ago asked Mrs. Peck, through the medium of your paper, to correct certain scurrilous statements which I was then satisfied were untrue. She sent me the following epistle, which is, as might be expected, from one who had long suffered mental agony, and is unaccustomed to making public defences, a warm-hearted article. I know her, and believe she could write a paper of equal length, relative to her friends, for she has many, and is attached to the West, but this is devoted to her enemies—and is a defence. How many there are who have honors filched and stolen from them the same as gold is filched and stolen! There are many interesting facts related. W. H. C.

Friend C.:—While on the eve of a hundred mile journey to the North, on business, I received a request from you to describe some of the incidents that transpired during our first settlement in the first house in Madison, and Baraboo, and also to refute the scurrilous abuse of myself, as issued in the last Report on the Picture Gallery of the State Historical Society. I have now returned, and will endeavor to state facts, in as condensed a form as possible, as I have frequently been called upon before, during the last twenty years, on the same subject, when sundry newspapers had selected and published old Featherstonhaugh's squibs. But, as I then did not deem it essential, considering the source from whence they sprang, and also knowing at the time that there were numerous old settlers at Madison that were knowing to the contrary, I concluded to let them have their own fun. But as they are now put forth at this late date, as permanent history, I deem it a duty to myself, as well as to the public, to state facts.

First. Their report says, "Peck and family were sent on from Milwaukee to erect a house where the workmen on the Capitol might board and lodge."

Now, I was never in Milwaukee in my life, nor nearer it than Peck's Rapids,* on Rock river. No, Sir; we came direct from Genesee county, New York, via Buffalo, Detroit, Michigan City and Chicago, to the Blue Mounds and was neither sent nor dragged, except by our own team and on our own hook; arrived in July, 1836, our goods being shipped via Green Bay and Portage, and as the two forts, or garrisons, were then kept at those two points, and the Blue Mounds being situated on the Old Military Road, between those places, Mineral Point and Galena, there was considerable travel. A Post Office was established at Squire Brigham's, at the Blue Mounds. We took his house, with everything appertaining

* Located in Ixonia, Jefferson county, Wisconsin, and named from Stephen Peck, a brother of Eben Peck. He had, in connection with Mr. Mullett, of Detroit, taken a large contract for surveying government lands in Wisconsin, before his brother Eben came to the country. He subsequently started with a considerable sum of money to enter public lands; he was quite out of health at the time, and was never heard of after. He left a widow and two children. L. C. D.

thereto, his large, excellent garden, a number of cows, etc., and boarded himself and his farming and mining hands during autumn and winter, also entertained travelers. And as the Legislature convened at Belmont that season, and Judge J. D. Doty being the principal proprietor of land at the Four Lakes, a good part of the members were bought with slices therefrom, to locate the seat of government of Wisconsin at Madison;* and on the return of the northern members, we purchased lots at that place, and immediately sent hands and teams to erect three large rooms, or buildings, and, in fact, they were erected before I ever saw the place.

The men employed to erect this first house were two Frenchmen, one named Joe Pellkie, the name of the other is forgotten; they were with a party of Winnebagoes who had spent that winter at the largest of the Blue Mounds; and one Abraham Wood superintended the work. Wood then lived at Strawberry or Squaw Point—since better known as Winnequah, on the eastern side of Third Lake; he had a squaw wife, a daughter of the Winnebago chief De Kaury. Wood subsequently removed to Baraboo, and erected a saw-mill there. During the erection of these cabins, which was in March, Mr. Peck made two excursions with teams to Madison, to carry out supplies, and give directions about the work; there was then snow on the ground, and the lakes were frozen, so that Mr. Peck crossed on the ice to Strawberry Point, to stay over night at Wood's. Pellkie remained in and around Madison for some time; at one time, Berry Haney, a noted character, shot Pellkie in a dispute about a land claim, and when last heard from, Pellkie was still carrying the ball in his back. The other Frenchman, the companion of Pellkie in building our cabins, had a squaw wife, whose brother was stabbed and killed on the beach of Third Lake.†

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* In February, 1837, immediately after the selection of Madison for the capital, John Catlin and Moses M. Strong came out from Mineral Point, and staked out the central part of the village plat. Judge Doty had made an excursion to the present locality of Madison in 1832—and doubtless several times previously—and greatly admired the situation; and in 1836, immediately after the establishment of the Territorial government of Wisconsin, he, in company with Stevens T. Mason, governor of Michigan, had bought the site for fifteen hundred dollars, with a special view of eventually securing the location of the capital at this point. The result proved Doty's sagacity. L. C. D.

† In the summer of 1837, says Darwin Clark, a party of some fifteen Winnebagoes were camped on the shore of Third Lake, on the flat, just below the Mere-

In March, Mr. Doty and lady returned (their residence being at Green Bay), and put up over night with us. Well, they found a decent, clean table, a thing seldom found in those days. I informed Mrs. Doty that we were going to settle in Madison. She said if I would be the first housekeeper there, I should have a present, and my choice of the best lot in the place; it was also confirmed by her husband, but, by-the-by, I never got it; and on the 15th of April, 1837 (not on the 14th, as represented in beautiful history), we arrived there, and as we were well aware what our business would be when settled, we provided ourselves accordingly, and purchased at Mineral Point over one hundred dollars worth of groceries (as I have the bills now to show), among the items were one barrel of pork, two of flour, one of crackers, one of sugar, half barrel dried fruit, one box of tea, and as good a sack of coffee as was ever brought into the State (old Featherstonhaugh's acorns and tincture of myrrh, notwithstanding), besides a half barrel of pickles, put up by myself, also a tub of butter, and jars of plums and cranberries collected from Blue Mounds' thickets. All these were carried to Madison when we moved, besides a good load of potatoes (poor starved Featherstonhaugh, I wonder he lived through his entertainment at our house). I also made six more bed-ticks, to be filled with grass or hay as occasion required, as we fetched but four feather beds with us.

We started from Brigham's place, at the Blue Mounds, on Thursday, the 13th of April, after dinner, with our teams, I riding an Indian pony. We traveled about seven miles, where some person had made a claim, and had laid about five rounds of logs towards a cabin. We camped therein that night with a tent over us. The next day, the 14th, we pushed on—a more pleasant day I never wish to see; but I had a severe headache before night. We pitched our tent on a little rise of ground, within three miles of Madison; spread down our beds, and rested comfortably, till near 3 o'clock on Saturday morn-

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dith House; when two young Indians got into a quarrel, one stabbing and killing the other. The white workmen, thinking their red neighbors were quite too careless in the use of their knives, carried their rifles with them, which to the Winnebagoes boded no good, so they soon after departed for other parts.

Pellkie early married a white woman, at Madison; Simeon Mills, a justice of the peace, performing the marriage ceremony. L. C. D.

ing, when we were awakened by a tremendous wind storm, and howling of wolves, and found snow five or six inches deep which continued to fall until after we arrived in Madison.

Well, now, here we are at Madison, on the 15th, sitting in a wagon under a tree, with a bed-quilt thrown over my own and little boy's heads, in a tremendous storm of snow and sleet, twenty-five miles from any inhabitants on one side (Blue Mounds), and nearly one hundred on the other (Milwaukee). What is to be done? Go into the buildings with no floors laid, and nothing but great sleepers laid across to walk on? No; I must have the buildings painted with lime, and floors laid first—only one saw-mill in the Territory, and that way up in the Wisconsin Pinery, and not completed, and of course no lumber; but there lies a pile of puncheons—just build me a pen under this tree, and move in my stove, and we will crawl in there. Sure enough, we soon had it completed, and a fire built.

Some two weeks from this time, or about the first of May, on a pleasant day, there were about fifteen men arrived from Milwaukee,* to look a road through, and see Madison. Among the number were A. A. Bird, the two Pixley's, merchants, and Col. Morton of the Land Office—but I cannot enumerate names. Well, we had a spacious dining-room—under the broad canopy of heaven—where I spread tables for them. A portion of the party, the hired men, set out on their return the next day. We immediately sent a team to the other side of Fourth Lake, where there had been some hay put up by a party of half-breed French and Indians, and got a load of it, with which we filled our bed-ticks; we then laid down puncheons in one end of one of the buildings, spread down our beds, built a fire of chips (hewn from the logs) at the other end between the sleepers, tacked three or four sheets of bed-curtains around the walls, and there they rested; and they staid with us three or four days, enjoying themselves hunting and fishing around the lakes, and looking at the country; and then left for Mineral Point, or perhaps Galena; and in eight or ten

* Via Janesville, says Gen. Simeon Mills. If they looked out a road from Milwaukee by that route, Colonel Bird probably regarded it as bearing too much to the south, and selected another route when he came with his party of workmen in June.
L. C. D.

days Bird returned, accompanied by Judge Doty, Ebenezer Brigham and others.

Judge Doty observed, "Why do you not move into your house?" "Why, my dear sir," I replied, "I must have it plastered with lime first." Said he, "we do not know as there is a lime quarry within a hundred miles of you, and you need not expect to live in this pen until there is one found and burned. No, no, you must move in; we will help daub up the kitchen part on the outside with mud, and when the lime is found, you can finish the inside to suit you." So at it they went (only think, Governors, Esquires and Mayors, in prospective, daubing cabins!), and by night we were all comfortably situated in the kitchen. And this is the room in which, a week subsequently, the great Scotch-born and English-bred Featherstonhaugh was entertained.

And now I will inform you of the erroneousness of their selections from old Featherstonhaugh's squibs:

First.—"The door, or entrance," he says, "was five feet high." Now, Madison has had that same door in her possession over twenty years, and surely they could have described it without going to London for its dimensions. Why, their tall, venerable ex-Mayor* at that time needed only to make a very polite bow when crossing our threshold, to call for the wherewith to renew the inner man. But recollect this was one of the kitchen doors, opening afterwards into a dining-room; there were three other outside doors to the buildings.

Second.—Featherstonhaugh says: "The room was twelve feet square." If they will measure the ground, they will find it to be twenty-four feet long and eighteen or twenty wide —the same length of the dining-room, and situated immediately back of it—wherein they used to dance cotillions, three set at the same time. The other two buildings were joined on the northeast and southeast corners of the kitchen, leaving a passage, where afterwards was erected a frame dining-room, in which many a weary traveler and hungry wight was fed. In describing the old house, do not imagine, friend C., that I con-

* Col. A. A. Bird.

sider it beneath my dignity to have lived in the one above represented, for I have lived in worse ones since; I only wish to inform you of the truth.

Third.—He said "no male Peck was on the ground." Now, my husband and little son were both present. I cannot be mistaken—as we had but two arrivals previous, I well recollect every particular. Mr. Peck hitched Featherstonhaugh's horse, and waited upon him and his associates into the house. I also remember the laugh we had next morning at seeing them with a little hammer breaking pebbles on the shore of Third Lake to find mineral in them; and finally, old Featherstonhaugh packed a large, round boulder, or "hard-head," to the house, and procured a large hammer and broke it open—but no mineral. Poor man, he must do something as a geologist. But if he should call on us at the present time, there would be some truth in his statement, as one male Peck —the son—has gone to Pike's Peak, and the other—the husband—the last reliable information, but once, that I got from him was by a letter received from him by a citizen of Madison, some six or seven years after he left, stating that he had a wife and five or six children in Texas. Perhaps this was true, as he left myself and little boy and came to Wisconsin to look at land, and resided in the vicinity of Natchez some eighteen or twenty months before returning to York State and conveying us hither, and probably had her picked out at that time, and was glad of any excuse to return to her, and was forced conscientiously to reveal his circumstances to exonerate some one else from blame.

Fourth.—"High cap," and "half bushel." * * * If the little history of Madison could not have been written without meddling with the caps and petticoats of its first ladies, and also selecting from the verdant brain of an old gray-headed idiot, trash concocted and cockneyized in London, then it had better ever remained a blank.

Fifth.—"Bolting pork," "no fresh fish." About twenty years ago, I perused Featherstonhaugh's original report,

and in it he gives us credit for having fine fish next morning; but our would-be-correct historian does not even allow us this digression from his slang. True, he had fish for breakfast, for Mr. Peck went out early and procured fish of some Indians at the outlet of Fourth Lake. The original also said that he (Featherstonhaugh) had bolted pork at Mineral Point until he was ashamed to look a live hog in the face. History omits that place, as well as a meal procured at Blue Mounds. History had better give his whole abuse of the whole country or none. He accused me of using the term "calculate;" that is generally applied to Hoosiers, and surely I am not one.

Sixth.—He says he did not know whether the coffee was made of acorns or tincture of myrrh, and he grimaced. I think he must have been born with his face awry, or been very much troubled with worms or the gout, or perhaps reflections continually flitted across his memory of the many nauseating remedies he had been accustomed to swallow, that he could not avoid drawing his face askew, and of course kept it in a continual grimace, for there was a perfect sameness on his hideous countenance whilst he remained there, unless my memory is very treacherous.

If there was anything I took pride in, it was in making good coffee, and it is the first and only complaint that I ever heard of our table, or its fixtures. Ask some of the old settlers of Madison in regard to this subject.* True, we had no cream, as our cow was left at Blue Mounds until grass started. I guarantee I could manufacture better coffee from parsnips and catnip than some of the crack hotels of the present day do from the imported article, judging from the insipid stuff I drank the last time I was there; and as for their butter, O whew!

Seventh.—He says, "two boorish, ruffian, hang-dog looking fellows sat on a log through the previous night in a tremendous thunder shower, and entered the house in the night." "Previous," very true, and the rain was all over, and a more

* General Mills cheerfully testifies to the fact that Mrs. Peck did make most excellent coffee. L. C. D.

beautiful night than the one subsequent, no one would wish to see; and as for its raining through the roof into his face, it's all gas. I guarantee that not one drop of moisture touched it, unless he was troubled with the glanders, for I stood in the doorway watching flights of pigeons until late in the evening, and no clouds were to be seen. And as for two other boors, I saw none except himself; perhaps those were what he saw when he looked in my glass, considering himself one, and his shadow another.

Eight.—Putting "the frying pan to bed." Here I am completely nonplussed—a mystery beyond my comprehension. Friend C., explain if you can. It seems though, that blowing the candle out, put them all to bed.

Ninth.—His "lodging between two barrels." If a bed with over thirty pounds of fresh geese feathers, laid on a good, backwoods bedstead, with plenty of clean bedding, was not good enough for his majesty, then he ought to have carried his accommodations, with blanket on his back, as many a better man has done. Squire Seymour purchased the same bed when we left Madison; if he owns it yet, I presume he will permit our Historical Society and the public generally to examine it for their own satisfaction.

Tenth.—"Museum," "gimcracks," "crockery." In the original, Featherstonhaugh says "gimcrack;" history glosses it a little, and says "museum" and "crockery," and in an extract published in a Madison paper not long since, he says, "he dare not stir for fear of coming in contact with some of little Mrs. Peck's gimcracks." I wish he had, and got bumped hard enough to have rattled all the pumpkin seeds out of his pebble-cracked brain. But as all the barrels, boxes, and crockery were at one end of the room, and his head and bed the other, there was no danger. But he stayed there two nights and bolted pork, gratis, some time, and if he had got nothing but a crust given to him in kindness at that time, he ought to have been thankful.

Our historians have omitted to select that part of his report

where he gives a description of a ride next day in the outlet of Fourth Lake, with squaws to paddle and steer his canoe, and how he should have enjoyed himself had it not been for their perfume. They had better quote all of his nonsense, and put it into history for the benefit of future generations.

Now, we were well aware when he left this country, what his report would be, for he was entertained at Mineral Point for some length of time; as he professed to be a geologist, and was supposed to be a gentleman, they were anxious to have him report as favorably as possible; for at that time they were heavily taxed on mineral—they gallanted him around in their carriages—informed him of the resources of our beautiful Territory—publicly dinnered him, and finally he returned their compliments by trying to swindle them out of their mines—John D. Ansley's copper mines in particular; but finding them too much for him, he left in a huff, and proceeded to England to get appointed by the British Government one of the Commissioners to run the then disputed northeastern boundary line between Maine and New Brunswick. And there, in London, is where he groaned and brought forth the great document about the great seat of government of Wisconsin; and by giving Americans and Yankees fits generally, so tickled their monarch's ear that he got the appointment, and what fool could not, under the circumstances, with such inducements?

After he left Wisconsin, Squire Ansley, with some friends, met other friends of Madison at our house, and talked the Featherstonhaugh matter over. Ansley observed that he had expended nearly a thousand dollars entertaining him whilst in the country, and he would also expend another to have him cowhided if he ever crossed our Territorial lines again. Ansley soon got his mines incorporated, went himself to England, sold them to an English Company (I was informed), for a good round sum; the articles of sale were all drawn up except signatures, when in steps old Featherstonhaugh, and pronounces it all a swindle. Ansley then followed him to Washington, and while there was advised by his friends to arm himself, as old Featherstonhaugh threatened to assault

him; his reply was, that he was both armed with justice and deadly weapons; at the same time, he afterwards informed me, he was armed with no other deadly weapon but a pen-knife; he considered that sufficient to frighten such a nuisance.*

After Featherstonhaugh's final exit from the country, our next large arrival at Madison was A. A. Bird again, with some thirty or forty men, hired in Milwaukee, to commence operations on the public buildings; he also brought with him a family by the name of Pierce,† with two or three grown up daughters, for the purpose of cooking for his workmen. They immediately put up a log boarding-house, and in a week's time they had it completed and moved in. Their next work was putting up and enclosing a frame dining-room for us, in the above mentioned passageway, the same height and in range of two of the other buildings, so as to make convenient lodging rooms above. Then comes Judge Doty again, and says, "Madam, prepare yourself for company on the Fourth, as a large number from Milwaukee, Mineral Point, Fort Winnebago and Galena have concluded to meet here for the purpose of viewing the place and celebrating the day." "Why, what

* As an evidence that Mrs. Peck is not singular in her estimate of Mr. Featherstonhaugh, we give the following citation from that excellent work, Neill's *History of Minnesota:* "After Featherstonhaugh returned to England, he published a work entitled 'Canoe Voyage up the Minnay Sotar,' which is only remarkable for its vulgarity, and its attack upon the character of gentlemen who did not show him the attention which he thought he should have received." "A dyspeptic and growling Englishman."

L. C. D.

† Josiah Pierce, the early settler here mentioned, was born in New Salem, Hampshire county, Massachusetts, May 21, 1783, devoted to agricultural pursuits in 1827 moved with his family from his native state to Butternuts, Otsego county, N. Y.; and in the spring of 1837, he migrated with his wife and seven children to Wisconsin. He was engaged by Colonel Bird to remove from Milwaukee to Madison, to board some of his workmen on the capitol; and Mr. Pierce and family came with Colonel Bird's party of thirty-six workmen, and arrived in Madison, June 10th, 1837, after a ten days' journey, with four teams loaded with provisions, tools, and such other articles as would be most needed, and had to cut out roads, build long "corduroy" over swamps, and ford creeks and rivers. Mr. Pierce's cabin was located at or very near the present residence of William Pynchcon, on the south side of Butler street, a little east of Peck's primitive residence; the latter was on lot six, in block 107, on the south side of Butler street. Simeon Mills arrived the same day, from Chicago, that Bird's party reached Madison. Mr. Pierce's was the second family that settled in Madison; but his was only designed for a temporary residence, intending to find a good locality, and settle on a new farm. In November of that year, he removed two miles south of the present village of Monticello, Green county, and made a good location; his nearest neighbors resided in Exeter, seven miles distant. He was an invalid when he settled there; but his health improved, and he was able to attend to business for several years. He finally died of consumption, December 25th, 1843, aged nearly sixty-one years. He had no enemies, and was highly esteemed by all who knew him. His widow, Ruth Pierce, a native of Granby, Connecticut, survived till June 8, 1867, when she passed away, at the good old age of seventy-nine years. She lived to see her family all settled in life, prosperous and respected, and she never regretted her early migration to the western wilderness. Her son, Hon. Albert H. Pierce, has twice represented the Monticello district in the legislature, in 1859 and 1868.

shall I do?" said I, "here is my husband and brother,* both blind with inflammation in their eyes, so that I have to feed them, and no lumber either to lay the upper or dining-room floor." "Just constitute me your agent," he replied, "and I will contract for whatever you want; and there is a crib of lumber just run down the Wisconsin river and lying at Helena, from Whitney's Mill," the first and then the only saw-mill in the Territory. He went and contracted for the lumber at sixty-nine dollars a thousand (I have still some articles of furniture manufactured from that first lumber, and I prize them as highly as others would relics from Mount Vernon or the Charter Oak); he also contracted for a load of crockery and table fixtures, provisions, wines, liquors, pickles, preserves, more bed-ticking, bedding, and finally everything that I sent for at Mineral Point, and ordered teams to convey them to Madison.

On the second day of July there was a drove of cattle from Illinois driven through Madison to Green Bay, out of which we purchased beeves and veal. On the same day my husband was led out blind and put into the stage, with his eyes carefully excluded from the light, and sent to Fort Winnebago, for the purpose of having his eyes operated upon by the surgeon of the garrison, and endeavor to get a quiet, dark room, away from confusion—pshaw, talk about the times that tried men's souls, just as if a woman had none—but the recruits had just arrived there from Green Bay, and more confusion than at home, so next day he returned. On the morning of the third, our "gimcracks" had all arrived except the lumber, and that made its appearance about seven o'clock in the evening. That night our chamber floors were laid, except over the dining-room. We had previously purchased three hundred pounds of feathers of Mr. Rasdall† an Indian trader, so our pillows

* Luther Peck, who subsequently removed with his brother to Baraboo, and went in 1849 or 1850 to California, and afterwards to Pike's Peak, where he resided a number of years. About 1860 he became an invalid, from consumption, and at his request, Victor Peck, the son of Eben Peck went from Baraboo to accompany his uncle back to Wisconsin; but he died on the Plains, about forty miles beyond Omaha, in 1861, at about the age of forty-five years. L. C. D.

† Prof. C. B. Chapman has given some reminiscences of Abel Rasdall, the Indian trader, and early pioneer of the Four Lake region, in the 4th vol. of *Wis. Hist. Colls.*

It may be added that Mr. Rasdall was born in Barren county, Ky., Aug. 15,

were all ready and our beds were all spread by daylight on the morning of the fourth, and by one o'clock our dining-room floor was laid, our dining-table built and dinner set, and between that hour and sundown some two or three hundred persons bolted something besides pork. In the evening there was a basket of champagne carried into the dining-room, and there their toasts were delivered, songs sung, dinner-bell jingled between times, and good feeling, friendship and hilarity prevailed generally; and next morning they shot my two little pet crows. Who ever perused those volunteer sentiments, published afterwards in Milwaukee papers, must have acknowledged that Madison was possessed of superior intellects about that time.

Some few months after, the great Featherstonhaugh's report made its advent into America. Selections were forwarded through the press. Among the items, was the beautiful compliment paid to me. We soon got news that he was at Prairie du Chien; J. A. Noonan, then editing a paper at Madison, with other friends, immediately called on us, and requested me to send him a little rag-baby and the "stuck-up cap," as presents. I constructed one, with all its little fixtures; then again we received news that it was not the old one, but the son. Then they wished me to send the little articles to Washington, as he was there, and he (Noonan) would notify the public that they were sent. I replied that I neither wished to be immortalized or canonized and to just drop the subject, for I considered such an old bloat not worth minding,

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1805, son of Robert and Elizabeth Rasdall, and was raised a farmer. When a young man, he went to Missouri, and engaged awhile in lead mining, and in 1828, went to Galena, and assisted awhile the late Col. James Morrison, in his mining operations, at Porter's Grove, about nine miles from the Blue Mounds; and soon engaged in the business of an Indian trader locating his cabin on the eastern shore of First Lake, about half a mile south of its outlet. He married a Winnebago woman, by whom he had three children; she was a real help-mate to him in the Indian trade, and accompanying him to Fort Winnebago, at some Indian payment there, she sickened and died with the smallpox, Rasdall alone attending her, and burying her remains. He had been vaccinated when a small boy, and did not take the disease. He subsequently married another Winnebago woman; they had no issue, and when her people migrated west, she concluded to go with them—so Rasdall and his Indian wife cut a blanket in two, each taking a part, the Indian mode of divorce.

Mr. Rasdall's services in the Black Hawk War are specified in Dr. Chapman's narrative. In his trading with the Indians, he did not by any means, confine himself to his trading establishment, but would pack several ponies with goods, and would make a tour among the Indian camps and settlements, and dicker off his goods for skins and furs. He obtained his goods at Galena, where he disposed of his furs and peltry. Not only ponies were used for packing and transporting goods, but Indians also.

In 1846, he was married to Mary Ann Pitcher, in Madison, by whom he had three sons. Mr. Rasdall died at his home, at Token Creek, Dane county, Wis., June 6th, 1857, at the age of nearly fifty-two years. He will long be remembered as an early settler of Dane county, his trading adventures around the Four Lakes having commenced as early as 1831.

and so I burned the rag-baby up. But, I did not imagine, at that time, that there ever would be idiots enough in Wisconsin to select those very same degrading reports, and publish them to the world, as any part of the history of our beautiful State.

It may be interesting to make a note of the first born child in Madison—my own daughter, born September 14th, 1837. When she was less than a week old, Judge Doty, one of the Commissioners for the erection of the Capitol, and Treasurer of the Board, arrived from Green Bay, with a large sum of specie, guarded by Capt. John Symington and a squad of soldiers from the garrison at Fort Howard, accompanied by Charles C. Sholes, an early editor and legislator of Wisconsin. They put up at our house. Doty ordered a table spread with wine, and he and his party standing around it, as solemn as a funeral—prophetic shadows go before—sipped their wine and named the young babe Wisconsiana. Simeon Mills said as my boy's name was Victor, his sister's name should be Victoria—in honor of the young queen, who had, but a few weeks before, ascended the English throne; so that name was added, making her full name Wisconsiana Victoria Peck.*

I soon got weary of being a slave to everybody, and we

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* She has been married several years to Nelson W. Wheeler, Esq., a prominent attorney at law at Baraboo. We may also add, in this connection, that John Stoner arrived in Madison with his family, Sept. 6, 1837, making the third family, and his son, James Madison Stoner, born Dec. 19, 1837 was the first male child born in the place—now residing in Colorado. His name was suggested the next morning after the birth by Gen. S. Mills. Mr. Stoner was born in Washington county, Md., Dec. 25, 1791; early removed to Pennsylvania, thence to New York, and finally to Fairport, on Lake Erie, and thence back to Pennsylvania; served in the War of 1812; subsequently married and settled in Ohio, thence removed to Madison. Mr. Stoner died in Madison, Jan. 11, 1872, at the ripe age of eighty years. His pioneer log cabin was on the lot in Second ward, on which the small Norwegian Lutheran church now stands.

For the sake of preserving some additional interesting facts connected with the early Peck family and their pioneer house, we may add, that the first New Years in Madison was duly commemorated at their hospitable house. Both Mr. and Mrs. Peck could discourse sweet music from the violin; and a dance was inaugurated, which lasted two days and two nights. In those days, with but a weekly mail, and that sometimes irregular and uncertain, and but four families in the place, some show of sociality and good cheer became necessary to chase away the *ennui* that might otherwise have crept in during the long and tedious winter.

The first wedding in Madison took place at Mr. Peck's, on the 1st of April, 1838. The happy bridegroom was Jairus S. Potter, better known as Long Potter, a tall lank fellow, to contra-distinguish him from Horace Potter, denominated Short Potter; and the bride was Miss Elizabeth Allen, who worked in Peck's family. General Mills procured a pretty bouquet of early flowers from the high sandy ridge dividing Third and Dead lakes, to grace the occasion, and Mr. Peck, who was a justice of the peace, tied the matrimonial knot, which was followed by a dance, Mrs. Peck officiating on the violin, except when she herself tripped gracefully over the floor, when Mr. Peck was her substitute. Mr. Potter remained in Madison until his death, about 1841; and his widow has long since passed away. General Mills, Darwin Clark, and Mrs. Prosper B. Bird, who were present, speak in terms of pleasant remembrance of this primitive wedding; and General Mills adds, that the spring of 1838 opened unusually early, or he would not have been able to procure the beautiful bouquet of wild flowers to grace the wedding festival.

finally rented our tavern-stand to a Mr. Ream,* and turned our attention to farming. Having previously purchased of Judge Doty eighty acres of land, a mile from town, we had fenced and been making improvements upon it for two years, when Doty called upon us again; and what do you think he said? why, forsooth, that he had made a mistake, and had deeded us the wrong piece of land, and that we had been cultivating a farm that he had formerly sold to a Mr. Larkin, and we must give it up and take another wild piece. We did so, without any remuneration whatever, and perfectly sick at heart and discouraged, left the place, and, in the autumn of 1840, arrived at Baraboo. Our nearest white neighbors here were on the other side of the Bluffs, six miles. Land on this side of the Wisconsin river was not as yet in market. We made a claim of a mill privilege, and settled near it on one side of the Baraboo river, and claimed a piece of farming land on the other, and got it fenced, and a larger part improved; then my husband left, under the pretence of going to Oregon, and claiming the offers of Government then held forth to actual settlers.

From that time I have struggled alone to bring up my little family. Other settlers soon began to come into the place; I received numerous families into my house, sometimes with seven and eight children, until they could hunt claims, and frequently sent our teams to assist in erecting their houses, all without charge—too glad, you see, to get neighbors. Well, it was a hard place, and we strove hard to live for seven long years and then the land was thrown into market, and no money to be got, a great many were deficient in the means to enter their land; finally, the mill privilege and land that we were residing on was entered from under us by a speculator, and then a drunken man broke into the house and drove us out, and destroyed everything in it that he could, and threw the rest out of doors. I took my children and went to the neighbors, and never lived in the house again. I soon got a board shanty put up on the opposite side of the river, near our im-

* Robert L. Ream, the father of Miss Vinnie Ream, the sculptress, who was born in Madison. L. C. D.

proved part of the claim, and moved into it. I then went to the Land Office to try and get a pre-emption on my improvements, but was informed that I must bring proof of my husband's death, or I could have no pre-emption. I immediately wrote to my parents, residing in York State, requesting them to send money to enter my farm. They sent it, but while on its way hither, a man named Brown, then residing at Whitewater, came here to visit his parents, and my farm taking his fancy, he immediately went to the Land Office and entered it. The settlers had previously formed a Claim Society, and had their officers all elected—Esq. Crawford, President—and a constitution framed and published. One of its articles was, "that if any actual settler had his improvements entered from him, there should be a committee appointed to wait on the purchaser, and endeavor to repurchase." Finally Brown returned to Baraboo and I had an interview with him. He said I could have it back by paying him sixty dollars more than he gave. It has been asserted by some, that I refused to pay his price, but it is false. I informed him that my money had arrived; this being Saturday, he said he would call on Monday morning, and complete a settlement with me; and so that same morning our Claim Society met, chose their committee to wait on him, provided he did not settle with me. The committee waited for him to fulfil his promise (I was informed) until noon, and learning that he had not called, they went to see him, and found that he had already sloped toward the Land Office, as was supposed, to enter another claim. They followed, and overtook him at Sauk Prairie, and waited upon him back two or three miles toward Baraboo, intending to have him fulfil his promise. He finally voluntarily proposed to go back to Sauk village, take his money, and deed the land over. They concluded to let him do so. Two or three of the committee went back with him for that purpose; the rest returned to Baraboo.

Brown and the two or three witnesses went before Esq. Leland, and got the deed executed. Leland asked Brown if it was his own voluntary act. He said yes. If it had not been, he

could have just as well said no, as he was before power legally authorized to command the peace; supposing that they had previously had him in duress, there was no compulsion at that time. The witnesses paid my money over to him, and he authorized Leland to take charge of it until he (Brown) called for it—but he never called. Brown wrote to me to go to Leland and get my money, as I could not have the land. He waited two years, until two witnesses to the deed had gone to California, then threw it into chancery to make a forced deed of it; and after adjournments and appeals for four or five years, our beautiful Court of Equity at Madison pronounced it all Brown's—fences, improvements, everything—and mulcted me in the cost of some hundreds of dollars. Now, according to Leland's testimony, there was no force. Their other point, or quibble was, that he had never received the money. Then, what business had he to put my money into another's possession. Well, Leland retains the money yet, although I have called on him a number of times since to hand it over. True, Brown had a right by United States law to enter it; he had also a right to deed it.

After I lost my improvements, I sold my last cows, at the rate of twelve and fifteen dollars apiece, and thereby raised money, and bought the piece of land I now live on, and afterwards entered some more; but could never get ahead far enough, besides supporting my family, to make improvements on any part of it until within the last three years.

But the robbing is not all done yet, for within the last year I owned a delightful little grove of timber, consisting of about three hundred trees, mostly large forest shades, situated on a beautiful elevated building lot in town, near the banks of the Baraboo river, reserved for my own use, where, if my life was spared long enough, I anticipated building a snug little residence to die in. And during a freshet last spring some two or three hundred citizens, with twenty or thirty teams, cut the whole of it down, and, without saying "by your leave," hauled and rolled them into the Baraboo river to save a flouring mill, valued at twenty-five or thirty thousand dollars owned by

some of our rich capitalists; and they saved it, and do you think that either of the proprietors or those who committed the trespass, have called on me to say, "Thank you, madam?" Not a bit of it. If they had offered me their mill, water privilege and all, at that time, I should have been reluctant to make the exchange, for if I owned a mill, somebody would be sure to steal the grist and toll both. Now this was robbing Peter to pay Paul, with a vengeance. And so, friend C., my whole life, it seems, thus far has been spent in striving to accumulate for others' benefit; and if I am taxed in future as formerly on what little I do possess, I think when I leave the world, I shall leave the young Peck—half bushel concern—quite independent. However, they (the half bushels) can go in future to Madison, and visit our Historical Institution, and find their mother immortalized by feeding old Featherstonhaugh with great, fat, square chunks of pork. That will probably be some consolation to them and their future progeny.

I see in their last issue they are calling loudly for contributions for the purpose of erecting a fire-proof building, to preserve their relics and archives. They are perhaps fearful that I shall become an incendiary; and I presume I should, if I could be sure their interesting history about me was all collected within the building. I have not troubled Madison, except on business, since I resided there, although they have got up some pioneer festivals. I presume if I had attended, I should have heard Featherstonhaugh's hardships spoken of twice to mine once. Nor have I contradicted their reports through the press, when stealing my thunder by representing their favorites as being the first settlers, to get them elected to office. I was called there, however, three or four years ago by Johnson & Fuller, of the Picture Gallery, to have my own and children's pictures taken, to be put in a great fizzle book they were getting up. Well, we procured livery conveyance at the rate of three or four dollars a day, in the month of March, and after getting stuck in the mud a few times, with sundry break-downs and detentions, we arrived there the third day, and put up at a hotel; went into a receiving room, picked up a little book—

about four inches by six—lying on the table, "Madison Directory of 1855," and commenced reading—and there it was, little Mrs. Peck, fiddler, little Mrs. Peck fiddler, bah! did you ever see such trash! I ascertained the author—the old granny—I suppose he usurped my shoes after I left the place. Well, we were detained there three days; went to the Picture Gallery and had our pictures taken. Madison's first heir sat for an extra one to put in a locket she carried with her—they charged her a dollar. They then wished me to subscribe twenty dollars for one of their big books. I replied that our expenses would be enormous enough in gratifying them with our beautiful profiles, without incurring it further. In returning home, we got stuck twice over the hubs in mud, hired teams to assist in hauling horses, carriage with ourselves out; procured another, with carriage to convey us to Lodi, and another team to take our broken carriage along, and after a couple more days of detention in getting a new axletree and other repairs, we arrived home; and in casting up expenses, it was in the neighborhood of fifty dollars. So much for gratifying the public with our faces.

I think that Madison ought to be perfectly satisfied with our eating and drinking them to the tune of nearly a thousand dollars over and above all proceeds of the old house the first year, without permitting history, principally manufactured within its own precincts, to cast indignities on its first house or its first occupants—especially as one of the officers of their Historical Society used to keep "bach" in a little seven-by-nine log Post Office, and was frequently helped at my table, to keep soul and body together.

It has also been asserted through the press at different times, that my daughter had been presented with town lots for her name, and being the first born there; but it is all false. Although, no doubt they would like to astonish the world with an idea of their bountiful generosity, she never received the value of a cent's worth.

And now, friend C., you must be satisfied with this short answer to your request. At some future time, I may proba-

bly give you ten thousand little incidents in regard to the hardships and privations endured in taking the lead in a frontier settlement. And, as one foot is in the grave and the other soon will be, I hope they will let me alone in the future, with putting frying-pans to bed, and decoctions of acorns, tincture of myrrh, half bushels, gimcracks, museums, bolting pork, etc., in my retirement, poverty and glory.

As you are frequently corresponding, friend C., with historians, and as they have just published some of my progeny's birth, transpiring years ago, in advance, I wish you to request them to immediately publish their death, as they anticipate dying at some future time.

Ho, Madison
And its once starved and hungry crew,
With stomachs expanded so wide,
Who now, in their pride, can gulp down their stew,
And oysters, and turkeys beside.
They should
Look back a few years, and remember their mother,
Who perspired to give them relief,
And have charity more for sister and brother,
Whilst gorging their pie, cakes and beef.

R. Peck.*

* We may add in this connection, that the first house of Madison, of which Mr. Peck and family were the primitive occupants and to which Robert L. Ream succeeded as "mine host" in the spring of 1838, and in which Miss Vinnie Ream was born, was torn down in 1857. It had a notable history during its twenty years' existence. L. C. D.

Early Reminiscences of Madison*

By J. G. Knapp

Your Society has, by its Lecture Committee, requested me "to prepare some paper on my pioneer life in this town, and of those who were here even before me;" and that I should write out such Madisonian reminiscences as I could, and read them before you. While I fully acknowledge the gratification which I feel in this flattering notice, I must confess to some surprise at the selection your committee has made of the person, and that they had not centered upon some other and better qualified individual; one who, having mingled in the first migrations, had more opportunities for information, into whose memory facts were burnt by participation in the actions themselves; and who could just as well, and even better, record recollections of those ancient times.

I say ancient times, for the age of a place or country depends more upon what progress it has made, than upon the years that have passed by since its first settlement. We have a striking instance of this in the territory of New Mexico. Two hundred and seventy years ago, Don Juan de Oñate led a large colony across the Rio Grande, giving the name of El Paso del Norte (the northern passage), to the ford and narrow valley of that river; and after traveling up the same three hundred and forty miles, planted the town of Santa Fe do San Francisco (Holy Faith of Saint Francisco), upon the site of an Indian Pueblo. During the first twenty years after the settlement of that province by Oñate, more people had migrated from the southern provinces to New Mexico than had

* Read before the Society, July 12, 1866.

taken up their residence in Wisconsin in the same number of years, after the first lead miners entered it. To-day, the last is one of the first States of the Union, with its million of inhabitants, known over all the world; the other is almost a *terra incognita*: a new country; forming a spot on the maps, but with the words "unexplored region" written on one-half its surface, and unknown even to the geographer, the historian, and scarcely understood by the government placed over it.

Madison, on this same principle, is an ancient city compared to its neighbors, the "City of the Four Lakes," East Madison, Mandamus, and others, which might be named; although the maps show that they started simultaneously on the voyage of time, with equal chances of success. How wide the difference now!

Mr. President, you have seen fit to honor me with your call, who am myself neither author, poet nor orator, known to fame; and it is mine to do what I can towards snatching some scraps from the great gulf of forgetfulness. You have, however, spared me the difficulties which might have surrounded me, in condensing in a short hour the recollections which cluster around days when we lived without law or government; before Wisconsin was raised to the dignity of Territorial tutelage, by the General Government. And I can pass over in silence my trips by land on foot, horseback and in carriages, by water in the light birch bark, or tottling "dug-out," where each one paddled his own canoe; my encampings on the broad prairies, and in the dense woods, sometimes with the naked earth, and again with hemlock boughs, covering the snows, for a bed, and a single blanket for a cover; now wading swamps and swollen streams, and then on clumsy snow-shoes, plodding over the deep snows, and through dense woods; sometimes with company, more often alone; now lodging in the house of Rowan, or other early settler, and then with the Indian, in his flag wigwam. You allow me to pass all these, and I can begin at November, 1836, when Judge Doty brought John V. Suydam from Green Bay, and aided by the Government

meanders and survey notes, and with one day's reconnoissance they contrived the plot of the present town.

But while you have allowed me to pass over these days and things in other parts of Wisconsin, you have but increased the difficulties which surround me by this same limiting me to write of men and things, the weekly and daily occurrences of which have been caught up in the newspapers which have been published here since December, 1838. My field is where every mis-statement of fact and date can be at once detected and corrected. Most places have, far back on the page of time, an age where poetry can take the place of history. But Madison has no such period. All here is matter of fact, knotty, hard, iron-bound, preserved in archives more enduring than brass. With such facts you call on me to deal to-night.

How Madison was made the Capital of Wisconsin is matter of history—whether the whole truth will be written, I cannot tell; the records of deeds show that members of the Legislature, who met at Belmont, became large owners of lots in Madison, then without an inhabitant; and Legislative journals relate that some of these men by a strange coincidence voted that Madison should be the seat of government for Wisconsin Territory. Time has demonstrated that the place was well chosen.

At that time lithographers were no nearer than New York city, and as copies of town plats could only be multiplied by pen and ruler, and traders in town lots wanted maps, with and without embellishments, I received considerable employment during that winter, in making maps of Madison.

Then the "City of Four Lakes" had a very decided advantage over Madison. That city owned mostly by Virginia gentlemen, had houses and people; Madison had no such luxuries, but it had an energetic proprietor. To-day one is a city with a mayor and common council, four-storied stone and brick blocks, with moss on the roofs, railroads, Nicholson pavements, McAdamized streets, sidewalks and stoned gutters, plenty of debts and taxes, thronged streets with noise, dust and jostlings of business, conflagrations and fire engines. It

has also a Capitol, with good rooms for use, and rooms of doubtful, or of no use at all. All richly ornamented with architectural beauty within and without. It will be finished some day; and perhaps have pictures in the dome, painted by a man in whose name "i" sounds like "e" consisting of Grecian and Egyptian deities mingled with men of America; and which shall put all criticism at defiance, unless the painter shall also write under it, *"This is an ox, and this is a horse."* The other city is a wheat field, or grown up to brush, with less houses than it had in 1836.

My first recollections of actually seeing Madison and its surroundings carry me back to the summer of 1838, when after a rapid recognizance for a canal from Waupun to the head of Duck creek, I came to Madison as a delegate to a Territorial Congressional Convention. Our road then ran on the west side of the Fourth lake (the lakes were numbered, and had no special names in those days), and over the high prairies in the western part of Westport and Vienna, coming in at the paper "City of Four Lakes," through Mandamus and around the south end of the lake, so as to enter the present road near the stone quarry.

But two roads, then led from the Capitol out of town, the one west partly along State street and University avenue, to near the residence of A. E. Brooks. There it parted, one running southwest, leading towards Green county; the other continued west beyond the second railroad culvert, at which place it branched for Blue Mounds and Fort Winnebago. The Green county road branched again beyond the Dead Lake, for Hume's Ferry over Rock river. Janesville was then scarcely begun. This then, and long after, was the road to Rock and Walworth counties. The east road forded the Catfish river nearly where the bridge now is, and branching soon after, one led to Cottage Grove where it again parted, one to Lake Mills; and the other to Fort Atkinson. The main track followed near the present road to Sun Prairie, and thence to Lake Mills by way of Marshall, then called "Bird's Ruins."* It was by this line, the

* Bird's Ruins had its name in this wise: It had been observed by Colonel

first workmen arrived here from Milwaukee. Near the "'76" farm, an Indian trail ran by the Prairie House. Horace Lawrence lived there then, in a little house, keeping "bach." This was the only house between Madison and Rowan's. The trail crossed Token creek a mile above the present village, and then ran over the prairies, striking the military road at Rowan's, now Poynette. By this trail I returned from Madison. Then there were no roads in the direction of Columbus, Beaver Dam and Waupun. In fact those towns were then unsettled, and the lands unentered at the land office.

Before the whites had seen the country of the Four Lakes, it was the favorite hunting grounds of the Winnebagoes and Sacs, and as long as possible, they kept the pale face from the same. Though they gave up the mining lands, they clung to the lakes. At the time of the Black Hawk War, few if any white men had been allowed to come within this favored region. The day the war broke out, was a sad, a fatal day to the Indian paradise. The irresistible march of the Caucasian over the continent of America, and especially through the United States must sooner or later have reached this region, and trampled the Indians out of existence. But this war, instead of staying the advancing hosts, only accelerated their progress.

Gen. Dodge, with his rangers, had routed the Indians under the Prophet on the Peckatonica, and following their trail by Lake Koshkonong and Rock river, to near the mouth of the Crawfish, they suddenly turned to the west through Lake Mills, passed through and among the marshes of Deerfield and Cottage Grove, and struck the north end of Third Lake. In the timber between the country residence of the Hon. Simeon Mills and the Catfish bridge, then the ford, he overtook the rear guard of the flying foe. Here an Indian was wounded,

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Bird's party who passed there in June, 1837, that it would make a desirable location; and as Bird's Trace was for some time the only route of travel between Milwaukee and Madison, Zenas H. Bird, a brother of Colonel Bird, took down his small building in Madson, about the spring of 1839, and re-erected it at the crossing of Waterloo creek, and moved there, with a view of establishing a tavern at that locality, and put up a much larger frame for a house; but by the autumn of that year, other routes of travel began to be opened, and Mr. Bird regarding the prospects as unpromising, abandoned the premises, and returned to Madison; and left to the action of storms and weather, the building in the course of two or three years, fell to the ground—and hence the place was named *Bird's Ruins*. The village of Hanchettville, since changed to Marshall, subsequently sprang up there. Mr. Bird, an early hotel-keeper, died in Madison in 1843. L. C. D.

who crept away and hid himself in the thick willows and alders about where the Catfish now debouches into the lake, where he died. In the spring of 1839 I saw nearly all his bones lying where he had fallen; and, for many years later, some of them remained on the spot. The rangers had not found and buried him, even if he were dead when they passed through the town.

Another Indian was shot dead on the bank of the lake, near Blair street, and was wrapped in his blanket, and buried where he fell. This grave was well known to the early settlers as late as 1842; after which it became effaced more or less by travel and other causes. On the 29th of June, 1866, thirty-four years afterwards, the *Union* newspaper published the following notice of an Indian grave, which I at first thought might have been this, but on examination I find it is not:

"Indian Remains.—In grading a lot near Sprecher's Brewery, yesterday, the workmen brought to the surface the remains of a human skeleton, probably that of an Indian. A few stones were found above the remains, but no indications existed of there ever having been a coffin. The bones crumbled on being exposed to the air, indicating their long burial. There is no rest to the dead, when they seek it along the line of American civilization and improvement."

As these lakes were the favorite hunting and fishing grounds, so they were the burial place of the Indian dead, and many other Indian remains will from time to time be brought to light, and I should not be at all surprised to hear, at any time, that he whom the rangers buried where he fell, was again disinterred.

The Black Hawk War laid open the lake country to the eye of the white man, and the treaty made soon after with the Winnebagoes, put an end to the Indian title. For years afterwards those people, then subdued by fear of the prowess of the whites, returned to their old haunts in search of the game and fish with which the lands and waters teemed.

In 1837, A. A. Bird, the acting building Commissioner,

with a party of workmen, came from Milwaukee to Madison, for the purpose of putting up the Capitol. They made their road as nearly due west as they could, through an almost unexplored and roadless country, and where they might be expected to meet with all kinds of obstacles to impede their march. Little more was done that year than to build houses for their workmen, some of which were not of the highest order of architecture; since little or no lumber could be procured, except such as was cut with the whip saw.*

But preparations were made for commencing the work in earnest the following year. The steam mill was erected. Two scows for transporting stone from McBride's Point, with which the walls of the Capitol were to be constructed, were built; the ground for the Capitol was staked off, and the foundation partly laid. The act making Madison the capital also fixed the location of the building, as was supposed, on sections 13, 14, 23 and 24, or on the exact center of the Public Square. But as the post of the section corners was found standing on the west edge of the level of the Square, or where the ground begins to descend to the west; the ground for the foundation was so staked off that the corners should be under the west door and not in the centre of the building. Moreover the west wall was not placed upon the section lines; consequently both these causes operated to throw the walls away from a coincidence with all the streets of the city. This divergence became more apparent in the new and enlarged Capitol than in the old, since its location has been governed by the same lines.

The houses and cabins for the workmen were mostly built near the Third lake, and in the vicinity of King street. I think but one of the houses built in 1837 is left to-day, and that has been removed from its original site.

In the summer of 1838, the workmen under the direction of

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* In the summer of 1837, William A. Wheeler, a mill-wright, came here, and was engaged in the erection of a steam sawmill, on the bank of Lake Mendota, a little west of the foot of Butler street; but as the engine and other machinery had to be brought from Detroit, it was not till about the close of the year that it was set in operation. Darwin Clark aided in the erection of this mill. Much of the timber used in the building of the old capitol was sawed here.

L. C. D.

A. A. Bird, the acting Commissioner, and James Morrison,* the contractor, were busy in putting up the walls of the Capitol; and when I saw them they had just raised them to the window sills of the second story. Then the old steam mill was busy in sawing up the oaks, which were freely cut from the lands around, without regard to ownership. I suppose it was difficult at all times to find the lines between different owners; and the timber was wanted for public use. Yet I have many doubts about full compensation being made to the proprietors. At any rate all went into the construction of the Capitol, which did not go somewhere else; and as the difficulties of tracing timber after it has been sawed, are greatly increased, so we are bound to believe, that these like all other early pioneers, respected the rights of absent proprietors. The scow was making its daily trips with loads of stone from Eagle (McBride's) Point, to its wharf on the Madison side.

The Winnebago calling himself a Pottawatamie (for Indians can practice deceit or tell lies, when it is supposed to be for their advantage), returned from where he had been removed, and again shot his canoe across our waters, in pursuit of fish and ducks. Those were days when ducks did not run the gauntlet of shot-guns, as at present, but remained here during the summer, and reared their young. Others than Indians, also, sought food from the blue waters of the lakes. There were white men who often started out in the morning with full knowledge that their dinner depended upon fish to be caught. Fish from the lakes and game from the land, with such pork as they could get from the State of Illinois, or from Milwaukee, constituted almost the entire food of the pioneers. As men had not then heard of the dreadful *trichinæ*, so they

* Colonel Morrison was born in Kaskaskia, Illinois, in September, 1799. His father, William Morrison, was a native of Bucks county, Pennsylvania, and his mother was a French lady. In early life, Colonel Morrison was engaged with his father in the Rocky Mountain fur-trade. He removed to Wisconsin in 1827, and his first business was a lead miner and smelter at Porter's Grove, near Dodgeville. He came to Madison in the spring of 1838, when he immediately engaged in business—was contractor for building the capitol; in 1838, erected the American House, and was long a prominent citizen of Madison. He did not move his family here till near the close of 1839. He was Territorial Treasurer under Gov. Doty's and Tallmadge's administrations, from 1841 to 1845. He died in Madison, Dec. 23d, 1860, a little over sixty-one years of age. He was highly respected and was the owner of a large landed property in Wisconsin, Illinois and St. Louis. He left a widow, who has since passed away, and three daughters—one the estimable lady of Hon. N. W. Dean, of Madison.

L. C. D.

had no fears of those invisible monsters before their eyes. Then salted pork, smoked pork, pork fed on corn, pork fatted on acorns, pork built up with roots gathered in the woods and bogs, on the principle of "root hog or die," greased the staff of life, and they ate their pork, and greased bread and lived.

Those old times tried the patience, the tempers of men; but complaints could neither mend nor improve the irresistible laws of frontier life, and only tended to annoy the complainer. The walls of the Capitol went up at the expense of "Uncle Sam," and there was great trade in town lots and wild lands. At the Madison Hotel, on King street (it fell by fire, a few years ago, and its site is yet blackened by the conflagration), the Birds served up such food as the lakes, woods and "prairie schooner" provided for the kitchen. R. L. Ream made the Madison House, whose logs sustained a roof of boards, battened with slabs, and which has fallen in, within the memory of girls still "in shorts," and whose shadow has been preserved by stroke of sunlight, the grand resort of the aristocracy of Wisconsin. That was the stage house, too. At either of these places, two feet by six of floor could be had for the night at two pence a square foot, where the weary passenger might spread his own blanket, and use his saddle or portmanteau for a pillow, and rejoice that he had so good a bed.

Noonan had not then come here, though I think some of the printing materials had reached their destination, and the art preservative was not multiplying the pages of the *Wisconsin Enquirer*. That paper began its career in November, 1838, in a room over the "Commissioners' store" in King street. In one corner of that room we, the wise men of Wisconsin, met and decided upon the merits of Gen. George W. Jones, and Judge James D. Doty. The latter was nominated and succeeded before the people. That election may be said to have settled the question against dueling, as one of the institutions of Wisconsin, and placed the law abiding above the chivalry, in this State. The next Legislature placed the present law against the sin of dueling upon the statute book.

The timbers of the "American" then lay scattered over the ground, though men were busy in preparing them for their future destiny. This is the only one of the public houses which has stood until the present day, and been in constant use as a hotel.

In November, 1838, the Legislature of Wisconsin met in Madison. The Capitol was still unfinished; in fact, there was no room in which either branch could meet; so the members of the Council met in the little room, even smaller than at present, on the left hand side of the hall as you enter the American; and the House of Representatives in the basement; in which permanent organizations took place. A day or two later, two rooms in the south side of the Capitol were pronounced in readiness for the reception of the wise men of the first Legislature of the Territory of Wisconsin, which then contained 18,130 inhabitants, embraced in eight districts, consisting of the following counties: Brown; Crawford; Grant; Iowa; Milwaukee and Washington; Racine; Rock and Walworth; and Green, Dane, Jefferson and Dodge. This last district was represented by Ebenezer Brigham in the Council.

Having organized the Legislature, the next question was for members, officers and lobby, to find places to eat and sleep in. Though we paid Metropolitan prices, it cannot be said we had exactly Metropolitan fare. But men were remarkably accommodating in those early times, and without a grumble, could eat "hog and hominy," or "common doings," when "chicken fixings" could not be had; and they could occupy a field bed, where they were forced to lie spoon fashion. A frontier life is a mighty leveler; much like poverty, making men acquainted with strange bedfellows. The "school section" of the American, embracing most of the garret, was marked into lodging places by cracks in the floor; and its other rooms were equally crowded. At the Madison House, only six men were placed in a room sixteen feet square, and four others had a place at the fire during the day and evening. The floors of the Madison Hotel were almost nightly covered with shake-downs, for travelers and transient visitors. Happy were those men

who could find places in the few private houses, where four men might find two beds in a cold room, ten or twelve feet square.

Those were merry days also. Mrs. Peck's fiddle rang out sweet and clear, while A. A. Bird and his wife led off in the "Virginia Reel," or "Hunt the Squirrel," and were followed through the mazes of the dance, by the McDonalds, Smiths, and others whose names escape me. As widespread hoops were unknown, less space was needed for the dance, except when some ambitious dame or lassie, extended her skirts with both hands, as she performed a "double shuffle," or some nimble yet zealous worshiper of Terpsichore, stimulated by the music of Fisher's hornpipe, "cut a pigeon wing" over some ten feet of ground floor, and would have bounded higher and higher, but for the rafters and walls of the house. What entanglements of hearts and clothes then took place among the things which were. All went in for a full measure of merriment and joy, and thought they found it. Those days are gone now. "Hunt the Squirrel," and the Virginia Reel" are too galloping for these days of broad crinolines, and the "double shuffle" and "pigeon wing" too violent for tight-laced pretty youngsters, who are scarcely able to endure the fatigues of the ten stepped cotillion, and the tripody measures of the waltz.

Lake Mills and Mineral Point, then so near that the young men had sweethearts there and neighbors went on friendly visits, are now far off. The roads have not lengthened a jot, but time has.

Some of those people of 1838, have gone to other lands, helped to found other towns, cities and states. Not a few have passed away like the tenements which covered them from the storms of winter. Only here and there a wanderer remains like Noah, connecting the former with the present world of Madison. Simeon Mills, A. A. Bird, Darwin Clark, Geo. P. Delaplaine, E. M. Williamson, George Hyer and John Stoner, the common men of those days, have made such tracks on society as similar men always make, and I must content myself with this allusion to them.

But one, a very worthy and very valuable man in any place, then and still a character, deserves a longer notice. "Chief Justice" of the Peace Seymour, was here; and his pipe was as much a part of the man as is the cigar of Lieutenant General Grant. With that in his mouth, he was clerk in the Commissioner's store, kept books, dealt out silks and drygoods, tea and powder; was surveyor of the town plat, only he read the degrees and minutes at the wrong end of the needle; tried causes, civil and criminal, and administered justice mingled largely with equity and common sense, though some slanderously stated that at times his brain became muddled with the tobacco smoke. Some spoke hardly of him, as all good men are evilly spoken against. All knew he was the Gazette, and always of the very latest edition; and he had at that early time, under his special care, all the affairs of town, state and church. But a few years ago a dreadful sickness came to him, one we all regret, and none more than myself, and Seymour lost his pipe, and the city its best guardian. We shall never see his like again.

Mr. President, you have asked me to write of the men as well as the things of those early times. If to speak of the one is difficult, the other is nearly impossible. The one has some firmness about it which can be caught on the plate of the memory—a tangibility which can be dealt with. The other is fleeting as the clouds, changing constantly—a very kaleidoscope, astounding and pleasing to the beholder with its ever varying forms, and yet too transient to be delineated, except upon such susceptible surfaces as might leave a trace of the path of the meteor, or the bolt of Jove. Such susceptibility was not given me; and I regret it the less when I know that the graphic pen of George Hyer, a participant of those early times, as with a pencil of light has drawn the likeness of Covalle, the old trapper, who had forgotten the years of his age, and after a life spent among the Indians, could never brook the march of civilization, or conform himself to its customs. So, too, the profiles of others can be seen in the columns of the *Union*.

Judge Irvin, who lost a match with a rich lady in St. Louis, because in his extreme neatness and parsimony, he would persist in mending his own stockings, and sewing on his own buttons, has also been drawn to life. On either side of him is painted his horse, Pedro, and his dog, York, for whom he had a love surpassing his love of woman. No picture of the Judge would have been complete without these, his constant companions. But Wisconsin became a State, he lost his office, and the pay stopped. He went to Texas; he had never wintered in Wisconsin, unless he was sick so as to be unable to get away. And he took up his residence on the Rio Gaudelupe. I am told that he took part in the late rebellion, and some of the Wisconsin boys in obedience to the order of Gen. Washburn, attempted to take him as a prisoner of war, but failed, as he got wind of the hunters and fled. His old friends would have been glad to have seen him here, and heard him again talk of the full-blooded, highbred Pedro, and the pure pointer York; or upon visiting him at Camp Randall, to have seen him still mending his stockings, and sewing on his buttons, so that with his usual neatness, he might have borne up, under the fact of his durance, for having fought against a Government which had sustained and even fed him so long.

When he left, his penuriousness got the better of his love and though his love for York especially, had at times resulted (as it is said, but for the truth of which, I do not vouch) in judgment against many a poor fellow, who slighted the dog, or gave him a sly kick, as happened to the Sage of Muckwonago; or one who had even hinted a doubt about the correctness of his always scenting a game bird, as Berry Haney did when York came to a "firm point" on a snow bird. Though the Judge at the time most pointedly rebuked Mr. Haney, with the positive assurance, that snow birds make most excellent pot-pies, and were therefore game birds, a fact which York well knew. Though that was a rather novel definition of game bird, yet by it York was then defended, and remained so until the time came for the judgment of the court to reach the offender; then the dog was fully appeased.

As penuriousness had prevailed over love leaving only kindness in the bosom of the Judge, York was left in the kind family of Joe Kelley at Monroe, where he died. Many years after, Noah Phelps would insist on holding the regular terms of the Territorial courts in Green county, as he had the whole Territorial judiciary then remaining in Wisconsin. There was York to preside as in days past; Whiton had left his hat and boots, to fill a place at the bar, and he was himself on hand as clerk of the court. The high bred Pedro fared worse; he was sold for the purpose of drawing the plow, and the lumber wagon. "Poor old horse! let him die."*

I have been looking about for the old landmarks, those old houses that made the Madison of 1838—then as now, the gem in silver setting. The hand of man guided by want and civilization, time gnawing out the hearts of oaks, and the red tongue of fire have swept them out of existence. The old steam mill on the bank of the lake is gone to its foundations. The log house on the marsh, where Stoner reared his household, has left no mark behind. The site of the first frame house built in Madison at the S. W. corner of Wilson and Pinckney streets, for J. S. Schermerhorn, is now occupied by a large two-story brick dwelling house—that where the first man died

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* Judge David Irvin was a native of the Shenandoah Valley, in Virginia, where he was born in 1799. He early studied law, and commenced its practice in his native region. "He was appointed," says the Milwaukee *News*, "in 1833 by President Jackson to the office of Judge of the Territorial Court of Michigan. His court was held at Mackinac, Green Bay and Mineral Point. On the erection of Wisconsin into a separate Territory in 1836, he was appointed associate judge of the Territorial Court, with Judge Charles Dunn, recently deceased, and Judge A. G. Miller. Judge Irvin was assigned to that court in that part of the Territory west of the Mississippi River, afterwards constituting Iowa. When the Territory of Iowa was organized, Judge Irvin was assigned to the middle district of Wisconsin, to hold district court in the then counties of Iowa, Rock, Walworth and Green. He held these courts, and sat on the Territorial Supreme Court with Judges Dunn and Miller until the State was admitted into the Union, in 1848. His official career then terminating, he removed to Texas, and purchased a very large tract of land near Galveston, where he colonized many of his relatives, and where he continued to reside."

Judge Irvin, says one who knew him well, was about six feet in height, very erect and well proportioned. His hair was auburn, not turning gray; eyes blue; features narrow. He was not a laborious Judge, but was attentive to duty, honest and upright in every particular. He was candid, and without intrigue or deception. For integrity and moral principle he enjoyed universal confidence. He was fond of a horse and a dog—always esteeming *his* horse and dog the finest and best. Being a bachelor, these animals seemed to be the especial objects of his care and attention. He was fond of hunting, particularly prairie chickens; and frequently took the lawyers with him, *to teach the young idea how to shoot.*

By strict economy he acquired considerable real estate in the mineral section of Wisconsin. He was very economical, but scrupulously just in all his dealings. He indulged in acts of kindness to his relatives, but did not show much sympathy for others. While he treated all with urbanity and respect, he did not form particular attachments to strangers.

Judge Irvin died in Texas, about the 1st of June, 1872, at the age of about seventy three years. As one of the early lawgivers of Wisconsin, and a pioneer of note throughout the northwest, the name of David Irvin will long be held in respectful remembrance. L. C. D.

"by touch etherial slain," can only be traced by the crab-trees planted by Prosper B. Bird; and even the coarse gray sandstone which marked Warren's grave on University Hill, is buried beneath academician soil, to be at some remote period brought to light, perhaps by a people who shall speak another tongue.*

The demands of improvement have removed, demolished or added to other places, until it is difficult to trace the originals; and like the jack-knife with twelve new blades and six new handles, to those who have seen their transformations, they are the same old knives still. To all others they are new ones. One of these places deserves a longer notice. I allude to the old "worser." This two-story frame building was placed at the N. W. corner of Main and Pinckney streets, on the ground now known as the United States Block; and was built by Abner Nichols, of Mineral Point, and Jacob George, in 1838. Having partly completed the building, the owners applied for a tavern license, in order to sell liquors according to law, as all good liquor sellers desire to do. For some forgotten cause, perhaps the want of "two spare beds," they were refused. Licenses for groceries were then some four times the amount of those for taverns; and they desired, like all economical men, to save the difference. On being denied the license, they declared that if they could not keep a *tavern*, they would keep something "*worser*." And so without a license "Uncle George" opened a "worser" indeed, where men at the first session of the Legislature could buy strong drink, and in a dark cellar they could fight a certain wild animal, whose den was there. When the United States Hotel was to be built, the "worser" was moved down Main street, ten feet from the new brick wall. There it was burned to the ground, greatly endangering the new building, which was often on fire in the roof, doors and windows.

The Madisonians of 1839, having determined to celebrate the Fourth of July, and to vary for the nonce, the usual diet

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* S. Warren was a carpenter, and was killed by lightning in the summer of 1838, being the second death in the place, the first having been one Nelson, near the close of 1837. So states General Mills. L. C. D.

of bacon and fish, "Uncle Ab," of the "worser," had agreed to deliver them a fat steer for the occasion. The evening of the third came, and Nichols also, boisterously happy. Individually he had commenced anticipating the good feeling, which the keg he carried in his wagon, intended primarily for the "worser," but ultimately designed, after quadrupling its cost in favor of that institution, for the Madisonians, whose whistles had long been dry. Men drank "Peckatonica" and "Rock River," in those days, and thought there could be no feast without it.* True to his trust, Nichols had brought the steer, and tied him in a thicket to a burr oak tree, near the intersection of Dayton and State streets, where none of the hungry men could see it. Then taking one more drink from his "pocket pistol," he advanced to the crowd of loungers and longers; for the whisky of the "worser" had long since failed, and all were remarkably dry. The keg was unloaded and tapped in less time that I can tell it, and all hands summoned to drink. So the Fourth of July began, as it not unfrequently happens, on the third. The tethered steer was forgotten, in the joy that whisky, as meat, drink and lodging, pervaded the crowd; and none enjoyed it more than "Uncle Ab" himself. The Madisonians, next day, celebrated the Fourth in due course. They marched from the "worser" in due form to marshal music made by two squeaking fiddles.† Fiddlers and men at the head, and women at the tail of the line. George P. Delaplaine read the declaration, and William T. Sterling delivered a short but broad-winged eagle oration. After which the procession reformed in close order, and with "double quick" marched back to the "worser," and to the public dinner of bacon and fish, the diet of other days, except they had whisky to drink. They eat, they drank, and then they danced to the cheery notes of the fiddles, and were right merry.

Three days after, when the keg was empty, and no more

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* "Peckatonica" and "Rock river," and the names of some other streams, were used pleasantly to designate various grades of whisky. L. C. D.

† George W. Stoner, Esq., a youth at that time, says that Eben and Luther Peck played the fiddles, and Thomas Hill played the flute. L. C. D.

whisky to be had, "Uncle Ab" sobered off, and bethought him of the steer tied to the burr oak, and that instead of having been served up on the National feast, he was still under the tree. There it was that the butcher's knife released him at once from his three days' fast and from life; and he served to vary the daily diet of bacon and bread on common days of the year.

The old Capitol like its companions of 1838, has fallen before the demands of improvement. It was first attacked on both sides and resisted long and well, but when it was at last flanked at both ends, it surrendered and fell on the spot where it stood. May the beauties and just proportions of the new Capitol be emblematical of the reconstructed Union; and then, even we, who have a love for old things, may cherish the one, as we love the other.

A few of the old landmarks of 1838 yet remain on their old sites; all are changed by additions, by paint and by time. The American is more than tripled in size. The Commissioners' store, where fast men and boys filled "the big bellied bottle," and drank to "rosin the bow," and where they bought "little fishes," steeped in oil, which they ate late of nights, was then on the south side of King street, but now forms the American's east wing. The west wing is of modern date.

The curious antiquarian by sharp squinting will find, just above the Methodist Episcopal Church, the clapboards, which John Messersmith, Jr., in 1838, nailed upon a two storied frame building. It was opened as a gambling house, and named "the tiger." To-day it is half hid by an ill looking frontispiece, and has a similar addition in the rear, which have transformed it more into the appearance of a mud turtle, than the lithe animal he once was. I think he has been re-named, and is a *tiger* no more; at least his teeth are drawn, and nails clipped, and few now-a-days know how many victims fell before his voracity. The men who kept him and those who furnished his food, have taken to other employments.

In going down State street, you will find on the south side a small framed house with three roofs. One half this place

was then the residence of William T. Sterling, the Territorial Librarian, and Fourth of July orator. The other half was built in after days. This old place must soon give way to the three storied brick block, which will arise on its ruins, as such blocks have already risen on either side.

One other house you will find in Clymer street, doubled in size, half hid under trees, and overshadowed by the tallest buildings in the city. How it has escaped the march of improvement, or the tongue of fire, is a matter of wonder. At an early day it was inhabited by Gen. Simeon Mills. It has since been the residence of a Governor, and bears a charmed existence.

A cottage, small but ornate in the extreme, of one story and two rooms, lost its ornamental front in 1841, and took on an additional room, still stands on Johnson street; then it was the residence of Isaac H. Palmer,* subsequently the proprietor and founder of the village of Lodi, in Columbia county, who with genuine taste and an eye to the beautiful, surrounded it with the native crab-trees, which for many years after filled the air around with their fragrance, and pleased the eye with their beautiful flowers. To-day that old house is the home of the "sisters of charity," and will soon be overshadowed by the walls of the sanctuary. Its own fate is fast approaching when it must follow after its companions of the ancient time.†

All the remainder of the buildings of that day, so far as I can trace them, are gone or removed to other places, dressed in new garbs, applied to new uses, and can be recognized only by those who have witnessed all the transformations. Some others have only been removed to other sites, and applied to new uses.

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* Mr. Palmer drove one of the teams connected with Bird's party of workmen for the Capitol, who came through from Milwaukee to Madison in June, 1837. L. C. D.

† Of these ancient landmarks of the early days of Madison, the *American*, was totally destroyed by fire Sept. 5th, 1868. Messersmith's "tiger," on lot 10, in block 101, was displaced in 1871, to make room for Fritz Mæder's store. The building in which Wm. T. Sterling resided, and which was subsequently occupied by La Fayette Kellogg, and later still by the Hon. Chauncey Abbott, was originally built on the flat, east of the University grounds; but before occupancy, it was removed to the west end of the lot, on the south side of State street, now owned by Leonard Nolden, and was torn down in 1867. The Clymer street house, in early days the residence of General Mills, and subsequently of Governor Doty, is still in existence, owned by Kohner brothers, in the rear of, and adjoining the old Van Bergen or Opera House block. The Johnson street cottage, the pioneer residence of I. H. Palmer, is yet standing, just south of the German Catholic church, and is still occupied by the sisters as the school of the Holy Redeemer. L. C. D.

In 1838, the munificent gift of the General Government, the nucleus of the State Library, was kept in a little four roofed, one storied, wooden building, fifteen feet square, standing on King street. Now, the Library crowds one of the rooms of the new Capitol, and will soon require to be relieved. I know of one Territory which received a similar gift, and after fifteen years, it has less books in its Library than were first given it. And in another, an act has been passed forbidding the attorneys from citing, and the judges from quoting and following the decisions of other courts, when contending for or deciding what is the law of any case which may be before them. I am proud to say Wisconsin has pursued no such policy, which can only result in ignorance.

As the houses have changed, so the people have changed, some giving way to newcomers, others have found rest in the tomb. Rest! did I say? Three times have sites been fixed within the limits of the city, and as often have they been removed, and the dead transferred! Are they safe yet from the march of civilization? Here and there we find almost among strangers, one of those old sojourners of 1838. But how few they are! One may tell them on their fingers' ends, enumerate them as their works at that day can be told. The rains and snows, sunshine and storms, the heat and cold of almost thirty years have beaten upon them, faded the sparkling eyes, and blanched the glossy locks. The very thought makes the limbs tremble, the body stoop, the step shorten, the voice creak, and the blood flow sluggishly through the veins. It makes one feel more of the old man, as it sets him back on the dial of time.

Those were the oldest times in Madison, and but little time remains to speak of later days and things—none of the private buildings, streets, charters, and city growth. Then the Capitol stood out unfenced; even the corners of the square were unmarked by post or stake. However, Madison was the capital of a growing Territory, and the work of improvement went on. In 1841, Baxter had completed his contract on the Capitol, and the fence was placed around the square in 1842; the

cedar posts having been cut partly on the banks of the lakes, and partly on the Wisconsin river. To speak of matters relating to that Capitol is all the time I have left, and I must be brief at that.

In 1843, the office of Superintendent of Public Property was created, and that of Librarian and Commissioner of Public Buildings abolished, and their duties transferred to the Superintendent. John Y. Smith was elected to fill the place. In his hands, as Commissioner of Public Buildings, had been placed the management of the suits then pending against the old building Commissioners. These finally went to judgment in 1847, in Grant county, after having traveled the rounds from Dane to Iowa, Walworth, Milwaukee and Grant, the Territory recovering the amount of about $15,000. This debt was cancelled in 1848 by act of the Legislature, upon the payment of costs, excluding the amounts which had been paid by the Territory to its attorneys.

The Superintendent then received a salary of three hundred dollars, and performed the duties of Librarian, as well as overseer of all work and repairs in and about the Capitol, and making of contracts. The Legislature refusing even to allow the postage account, or pay for time when necessarily absent from home, attending to business for the public. The Superintendents of those days can remember many instances where bills for moneys absolutely and necessarily paid out in discharge of horse and stage fare, and for board and lodging were cut down nearly or quite one-half. Such was the economy, or rather parsimony, of those early times.

In 1846 I was elected to the place of Superintendent, and entering upon the duties, I hired one man to do all the work required, to whom I paid one hundred and fifty dollars a year, receiving for that piece of extravagance any amount of curses and growls. At that time the Park was more than half covered with hazel bushes, and oak grubs. The first were destroyed by mowing, and the last were dug up. The wild grass was succeeded by the present grasses, partly by sowing the seed, and partly spontaneous, or by self-sowing. The trees—then

the merest bush, were trimmed up to about six feet, that being nearly one-half their entire height. In 1847, I contracted with Alex. McBride, at fifty cents a tree, for planting out the row of maples and elms next to the Park fence, he agreeing to warrant their growth. This was done without authority of law, and before any appropriation had been made for that purpose. That Legislative body could never have been induced to make such an appropriation, for the reason that there was then the greatest opposition to all appropriations for future benefit; and because there was at that time a determination on the part of many members to remove the seat of Government to some other place. It was therefore with the greatest difficulty that the Legislature could be induced to make an appropriation to pay for those trees. I have often asked, what price the State would now fix upon those same trees? To these small beginnings, this assuming of responsibility, I look back and see what our beautiful Park has since become—the ornament of the most handsomely located city in the Union, the brightest setting of any Capitol on the continent, if not in the world. If it be such now, when less than half finished, what will it be in a few years, after the hand of the tasteful landscape gardener shall have brought to light its innate loveliness?

Two other acts, the responsibility of doing which I assumed, will be briefly noticed. The old Capitol was by some strange design of the architect, planned without basement rooms, although the walls were about seven feet below the base, and had doors and windows at each end. For many years these cellars formed sleeping apartments for the loose hogs of the town; and not infrequently their music was less enchanting than Æolian harps, or grand old organ tones. It struck me that this portion of the building could be better employed, and as the removal of some three feet of earth in depth was necessary, I let a contract for that purpose, at twenty cents a yard square. Into this space the dry wood was transferred, and found making much less noise than the hogs had made before. Soon after, that portion of the house having new windows cut on the sides, was made into rooms and offices, and

was thus used until the lights were darkened by the construction of the new building.

Another building, which has just been struck from existence, was in form quasi-gothic, costing eight hundred dollars, which when built was sufficiently distant from both walks and other buildings, and so embowered in trees, as to be neither offensive nor conspicuous; and when once built, was run without expense to the public. Yet for nineteen years, with almost no cost for repairs, it performed all the duties required of such a building. Its construction received much severe economic opposition at the time; but experience has demonstrated that no similar amount of money has been more judiciously paid out. But the march of extension encroached upon its site, and it too has fallen.* The spot where it stood, like the well of water in another part of the Square, is erased from the face of the earth, and known only on the sandy tablets of human memory. One more wave of time will beat, and all traces on the outer surface of the earth will be gone forever.

But, Mr. President, I am warned by time and your patience to stop just where Madison began to mould into form, and can say naught of edifices which sprang up even in 1839 and 1840, or of the men who inhabited them, without swelling my paper beyond all due proportions. Some other and better pen must write of those later years. The field is ample for the historian, the poet or novelist, and to them I leave it.

And now thanking you for the attention you have given me, I submit my imperfect sketch as a waif on the ocean of history, not knowing what may be its fate, but supposing it will pass away even before its author.

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* The brick structure alluded to, was the water-closet, in the rear of the old Capitol. L. C. D.

Naming of Madison and Dane County and the Location of the Capitol

By Lyman C. Draper and Others

Recently the question has arisen, who named Dane county and the city of Madison? After considerable inquiry on the subject, the following pertinent statements have been obtained:

Hon. Moses M. Strong states:

"I have no personal recollection as to who suggested, or gave the name of Dane to your county. I have conversed with Hon. J. B. Terry, who is the only survivor of the members from old Iowa county in the Belmont Legislature of 1836; and his recollection is, though not direct, that the name was suggested by his colleague, Ebenezer Brigham.

"The Journals of the House of that Session (pages 42, 43) show, that on the 9th of November, Mr. George F. Smith, of Iowa county, from the committee composed of the entire delegation of the counties of Iowa, Brown and Milwaukee, reported a bill for the subdivision of those counties. It appears that subsequently this bill was divided into two, one bill for the division of Iowa county, and another for the division of the counties of Brown and Milwaukee. This latter was ordered engrossed, November 29th (Journal, page 94), and finally passed both Houses and became a law, as number 28 of the Session Laws of 1836, entitled 'An Act to divide the counties of Brown and Milwaukee,' the fourth section of which creates and constitutes the county of Dane.

"If the original bill reported by Mr. Smith on the 9th of November could be found among the Archives, it might aid you in the investigation of the subject.

"Indeed, permit me to suggest that the State Historical Society make application to the Legislature, to have committed to the

custody of the Society, all the old manuscript archives relating to the Legislative branch of the Government during its Territorial existence."

Hon. Henry S. Baird, a member of the Territorial Council, from Brown county, in 1836, writes:

"In answer to your inquiry as to the persons who originated the names of Dane county and the city of Madison, I cannot with anything like certainty, give the information sought; but I am under the impression that the county of Dane owes its name to the late Ebenezer Brigham, who was a member of the Council in 1836, when the Territory was divided into counties. Gov. Doty was not a member of the Council; but I believe that he had the honor of bestowing the name of Madison upon the Capital City, as he purchased the land on which the original was laid out, and had the plat of the town made."

Hon. Morgan L. Martin, of Green Bay, writes:

"At the first session of our Territorial Legislature, Gov. Doty did more to shape the legislation, and especially in reference to the establishment of the seat of Government at Madison, than any other citizen, and, it is presumed also, in giving a name to the county in which it was located. The name of the future city was agreed upon by himself and others of us, who were the original proprietors,* long before the session of the Belmont Legislature was held; but I am not so sure about the name of the county. Probably that also was designated on the original plan; and to Gov. Doty is due the honor of naming it, or to Gov. Mason, who was one of the original owners of the site on which the embryo city was laid out."

Gen. Albert G. Ellis, a member of the House of Representatives from Brown county, at the Belmont Session of 1836, gives his recollections as follows:

"As to the naming of Dane county and Madison, there is not a doubt but Judge Doty did both. I often heard him speak in terms of admiration of the distinguished services of Nathan

* Reference is here had to the Four Lake Company, which entered into articles of association June 1, 1836, but seem to have never effected anything in their associated capacity. It is understood that Judge Doty and M. L. Martin were among the nominal members of this company. L. C. D.

Dane, and especially in connection with the ordinance of '87. No doubt he proposed the name for Dane county.

"As to Madison, I have indeed distinct recollections. I was a member of the Territorial Legislature from Brown county, in 1836. At that session the fixing of the seat of Government for Wisconsin was a leading measure, and gave rise to a very spirited contest. The bill was introduced early, and was debated with much heat for many days, the several rival local interests striving to carry off the prize: Mineral Point, Dodgeville, Belmont, Dubuque, Des Moines, Cassville, Green Bay, Prairie du Chien, Janesville and Milwaukee, all urging their claims.

"About the middle of the contest, Judge Doty quietly appeared at Belmont, with a surveyor, John V. Suydam, Esq., and took rooms at the Hotel. It soon transpired, that he had the seat of Government "in his pocket;" in other words, he had laid out a town at the Four Lakes, on lands purchased by Stevens T. Mason, Governor of Michigan, and himself, and that it was to be proposed the next day as the Capital of Wisconsin. This, true enough, was done by Hon. Alanson Sweet, a member of the Council from Milwaukee. The idea was poohed at by many, and was for several days regarded as chimerical. Before another debate, however, it was discovered that Madison was fast coming into favor, and especially so with the members west of the Mississippi; and stories were put in circulation of a certain stock company, owners of the city of Madison, with thirty-six shares in all—just the number of the two Houses of the Legislative Council; and that most of the members, and particularly those west of the Mississippi, were stockholders. However the truth might have been about the shares, true it is, that at the next consideration of the matter in the House of Representatives, Madison was largely ahead, and distanced all other interests. There were some hard things said at the time; but all parties have since conceded that the location was fortunate, and long since accorded to Gov. Doty foresight and patriotism in the location of our State Capital."

John V. Suydam, Esq., of Green Bay, furnishes the following reminiscenses:

"On the second day of November* of the year in which the session of the Legislature was held at Belmont, Gov. Doty and myself started from Green Bay on horseback, he with his green blanket and shot-gun, that had been his companions on many and many a trip through the almost trackless wilds of Wisconsin, and I with my compass and chain. We were both provided for camping out wherever night should overtake us; and for the more solid part of our forage, we were to depend upon the Governor's gun. On our way we stopped at various places, among which were Cliffton, at the north end of Winnebago Lake, where we laid out the village bearing that name, out of respect to an extensive ledge of rock that crops out at that point; and at Duck creek, on the east bank of the Wisconsin river, about eight or ten miles below Portage City, where we laid out the town of Wisconsinapolis.

"Finally, after about eight days from the time of leaving home, we reached what was then called 'Four Lakes.' We came by the trail that led around by the north side and west end of Fourth Lake, and found near what might be called the northwest corner, and perhaps two miles from where the University buildings now stand, a small log house, occupied by a man whose name I have forgotten,† who entertained our horses and ourselves nights, and assisted us day times in making such meanders and surveys of the shores of the Third and Fourth Lakes, and other points, as were necessary for making the plat of the future city. This took us, I think, three days. The precise time in which the survey and original plat of the city were made, was during the second and third weeks of November, while the Legislature was in session at Belmont.

"While standing at the section corner, on that beautiful spot between the Lakes, then the central point of a wilderness, with no civilization nearer than Fort Winnebago on the north, and Blue Mounds on the west, and but very little there; and over which now stands the principal entrance to one of the finest capitol structures in the West–I have no doubt Gov. Doty saw in his

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* This, it would seem, should be October. Mr. Suydam certifies, on October 27, 1836, that he had "carefully meandered and measured the exterior lines" of the plat of the town of Madison; Judge Doty certifies to the correctness of the plat, at Belmont, November 4, 1836." These dates were furnished me by C. P. Chapman, Esq., derived from the land records of Dane county, which I have verified by examination.

† Michel St. Cyr, a brief sketch of whom follows this paper. L. C. D.

far-reaching mind, just what we now see actually accomplished, a splendid city surrounding the Capitol of Wisconsin at Four Lakes, as he remarked to me then, that I need not be surprised to learn that the seat of Government of Wisconsin was located on that spot before the Legislature had adjourned. And sure enough, it so happened.

"We went directly to Belmont, where the Legislature was in session. On arriving there, I immediately set about drawing the plat of Madison, the Governor, in the mean time, giving me minute directions as to its whole plan, every item of which having originated with him while on the ground, as being the most suitable, and best calculated, to develop the peculiar topography of the place.

"As soon as the plats were completed, I returned home alone, leaving the Governor behind to carry out his object. On the adjournment of the Legislature, quite a number of gentlemen, I never learned how many, belonging to that body, went to their homes the owners of sundry corner lots in a new town, and the seat of Government of Wisconsin was permanently located at Madison, while the temporary locality was to be at Burlington, on the west side of the Mississippi, until the Capitol buildings were erected and got ready for occupancy.

"Gov. Doty had the honor of naming the county of Dane after some notable person and circumstance connected with the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, for the Government of the Territory North-West of the Ohio, which he wished might be preserved in this imperishable way; and the name was given to the city by him in honor of President Madison, whose memory he held in very high esteem."

Hon. John Catlin, who was among the early settlers at Madison, in 1837, and the first lawyer of the place, says:

"I always understood that James D. Doty gave the name of Dane to the county of that name, after Nathan Dane, and I have no doubt of it."

Hon. John Y. Smith, an early settler of Brown county, and afterwards of Madison, states:

"My impression is, that the name of Dane county was sug-

gested by Gov. Doty; but I am not sufficiently sure to justify the statement as an historical fact."

Hon. Gilbert Knapp, a member of the Legislative Council, from Milwaukee county, in 1836, says:

"I think Hon. J. D. Doty gave the name of Madison to your city."

Maj. Charles Doty, son of Gov. Doty, states:

"I have always thought my father named the city of Madison; but can recall nothing in reference to the naming of Dane county."

Judge J. G. Knapp, an early resident of Brown county, and subsequently of Madison, makes the following statement:

"Dane county was named after Hon. Nathan Dane, a delegate in the Continental Congress from Massachusetts, who, if not the author, introduced into Congress the Ordinance of 1787. Gov. Doty has told me, that he suggested, and had influence sufficient to induce the adoption of this name. He deemed it very proper that the county in which the Capital of the last Territory and State organized out of the old North-West Territory, should perpetuate the name of the author of that Ordinance, by bearing his name; as I think the act of establishing the counties, will be found bearing a later date than that fixing the location of the Capital. I have no question but that we are indebted to Gov. Doty for the name of Dane."

Thus it quite clearly appears, that with the exception of the vague and uncertain recollections of Hon. Henry S. Baird and Hon. John B. Terry, in supposing that the late Col. Brigham gave name to Dane county, as he was the first white settler within its limits, the strong preponderance of testimony points to Gov. Doty* as the person who originated the name; and

* For the sake of preserving some interesting facts with reference to Governor Doty and his parentage, furnished by Dr. Franklin B. Hough, the well-known antiquary and historian, of Lowville, N. Y., but received too late for the notice of the Governor in our last volume, we now append them:

"Chillus Doty, the father of James D. Doty, removed from Salem, Washington county, N. Y., to Martinsburg, Lewis county, N. Y., about 1802, and died in that town October 16, 1824. He was for many years an inn-keeper. He was sheriff of Lewis county, in 1805–8, and in 1811-14: a member of the Assembly in 1814 1816, and 1817, and Surrogate from 1815 to 1823. He was appointed Assessor under the law imposing a direct tax by Congress after the War of 1812-15, and was several years a County Judge.

"Mrs. Sarah Doty, mother of Governor Doty, was a sister of Gen. Walter Mar-

all unite in ascribing to him the suggestion of the name of Madison for the Capital city, in commemoration of the name and services of one of the distinguished associates of Nathan Dane in the old Continental Congress, and who subsequently filled the high position of President of the United States.

As the journals of the Territorial Legislature of 1836 are rare, a synopsis of the proceedings connected with the location of the Capital, may be deemed of sufficient interest to re-produce in this connection.

Governor Dodge, in his message to the Legislature, pledged his assent to any locality for the permanent seat of Government upon which a majority of the representatives of the people should regard as would best promote the public good.

On the 11th of November, 1836, Alanson Sweet, a member of the Council from Milwaukee, introduced a bill to establish the seat of Government; and the Council had two sessions on the bill in committee of the whole that day, and renewed the session on the subject on Saturday, the 12th. On Monday, the 14th, its further consideration was, on motion of Mr. Arndt, of Green Bay, postponed one week.

Nov. 21st, the bill was again taken up in committee of the whole; the 22d and 23d, two sessions each day were held—at the latter, it was moved by Mr. Arndt to strike out Madison as the Capital, and insert Fond du Lac, which was negatived by a vote of six ayes to seven noes. By precisely the same vote, except Du Buque, which received five votes, were the following places successively moved to be substituted for Madison, and rejected: Du Buque; the Portage of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers; Helena; Milwaukee; Racine; Belmont; Mineral Point; Platteville; Astor; Cassville; Belleview [on the western bank of the Mississippi]; Koshkonong; Wisconsinapolis, two and a half miles from Fort Winnebago; Peru, in Dubuque county; Wisconsin City, on the Wisconsin river, in Iowa county. By the same vote, the bill was ordered en-

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tin first proprietor of Martinsburg. She was born April 19, 1767, and died in Martinsburg, September 11th, 1843, aged seventy-seven years.

"James D. Doty attended the Lowville Academy, under charge of Rev. Isaac Clinton during his academic course."

L. C. D.ffl

grossed for a third reading; and the next day, the 24th, it received its final passage by the following vote, viz:

Ayes—John P. Arndt, of Green Bay; Ebenezer Brigham, of Iowa county; Arthur B. Ingraham, of Des Moines; Alanson Sweet, of Milwaukee; Jeremiah Smith, Jr., of Des Moines; John B. Terry, of Iowa county; and Joseph B. Teas, of Des Moines.

Noes—John Foley, of Du Buque; Gilbert Knapp, of Milwaukee county; Thomas McKnight, of Du Buque; Thomas McCraney, of Du Buque; James R. Vineyard, of Iowa county; and Henry S. Baird, of Green Bay, President of the Council.

The bill was promptly sent to the House, the same day, November 24th, and read the first time; when Mr. Dallam, of Crawford, moved that it be laid on the table until the 4th day of July next succeeding, ten members voting for, and fourteen against the proposition. It was read a second time, November 25th, and on that day, and the 26th, and Monday the 28th, was considered in committee of the whole. Mr. Quigley moved to strike out Madison, which was disagreed to. Mr. Dallam moved to substitute Burlington for Madison; disagreed to; and he then moved Mineral Point as a substitute, which was disagreed to. The vote thus far not given. Mr. Engle moved to strike out Madison, and insert Du Buque, which was rejected by a vote of 9 to 15. Mr. Ellis moved to strike out Madison and insert City of the Four Lakes; ayes 6, noes 17. Mr. Nowlin moved to substitute Cassville; ayes 10, noes 15; and he then moved to substitute Mineral Point; ayes 11, noes 14. Mr. Sheldon moved to substitute Milwaukee; ayes 8, noes 16. Mr. Cox moved to substitute Osceola; ayes 6, noes 17. Mr. Dallam moved to substitute Prairie du Chien; ayes 13, noes 12; when Mr. Shanley moved a reconsideration of this vote, which was agreed to; vote not given. On the recurrence of Mr. Dallam's substitute of Prairie du Chien, it was negatived by a vote of ayes 11, noes 14. Mr. Quigley moved to strike out the enacting clause; ayes

10, noes 16; and the bill was ordered to a third reading by the same vote; and, on motion of Mr. Leffler, the bill was read a third time, and passed by the following vote:

Ayes—Thomas Blair, of Des Moines; John Box, of Des Moines; William Boyles, of Iowa county; David R. Chance, of Des Moines; Madison W. Cornwall, of Milwaukee; James P. Cox, of Iowa county; Charles Durkee, of Milwaukee county; Warren L. Jenkins, of Des Moines; Isaac Leffler, of Des Moines; James H. Lockwood, of Crawford; Thomas McKnight, of Iowa county; Daniel M. Parkinson, of Iowa county; Eli Reynolds, of Des Moines; Thomas Shanley, of Iowa county; and George W. Teas, of Des Moines—15.

Noes—Hosea T. Camp, of Du Buque; Ebenezer Childs, of Green Bay; Albert G. Ellis, of Green Bay; James B. Dallam, of Crawford; Alex. J. Irwin, of Green Bay; Hardin Nowlin, of Du Buque; Patrick Quigley, of Du Buque; William B. Sheldon, of Milwaukee; George F. Smith, of Iowa county; Loring Wheeler, of Du Buque; and Peter Hill Engle, of Du Buque, Speaker—11.

It is quite evident that the Des Moines county delegations in both houses favored the location at some central and convenient point between the Mississippi and Lake Michigan, anticipating the early division of the Territory of Wisconsin, and the organization of the Territory of Iowa; when they apparently hoped to secure the location of the Capitol in their portion of Iowa Territory, which they eventually accomplished. Aside from any *douceur* consideration, we should suppose this alone was a sufficient inducement for the solid vote of that delegation for Madison as the seat of Government.

L. C. D.

Michel St. Cyr an Early Dane County Pioneer

By Lyman C. Draper

In the preceding paper, reference is made to Michel St. Cyr, an early settler of Dane county. He was well-known to Col. George H. Slaughter, Col. Wm. B. Slaughter, and Gen. Simeon Mills; and from them, especially the former, most of the facts concerning him were derived. They all agree, that he resided at a point a little north of the mouth of Pheasant Branch, where the City of the Four Lakes was located and platted, now owned by James Livesey. But the distance of St. Cyr's residence from the University location was greater than Mr. Suydam supposed—instead of about two miles, it was nearer six. Nor was there any other residence at that early day between St. Cyr's place and Madison.*

Wallace Rowan, a rough and hardy frontier man, had early located as an Indian trader at the head of Fourth Lake, and was there in 1832, at the outbreak of the Black Hawk War, as stated by the late Col. Ebenezer Brigham; not long after he removed to Squaw or Strawberry Point, on the eastern bank of Third or Monona Lake, and with Wm. B. Long entered, in 1835, the fractional tract embracing the Point. He was afterwards joined by Abraham Wood; but selling out his fifty-two acres to Col. Wm. B. Slaughter, March 24th, 1838, he removed to the present locality of Poynette, where for several years he kept a house of entertainment, and still later he migrated to Baraboo, where he and

* In a note received from Mr. Suydam since the preceding was put in type, he says: "I think General Mills is right in his supposition that it was St. Cyr who lived in the log house on Fourth Lake, at the time referred to. He had a Winnebago wife, and kept a house of entertainment, such as it was. As to the distance from Madison, I have but a faint recollection; I know it was quite a tramp through the tall grass and bushes, and took us quite a long time to accomplish it." L. C. D.

Wood built a mill, and where he died. Unlike most of the early Indian traders, his wife was a white woman.

St. Cyr succeeded Rowan as a trader at the head of Fourth Lake—whisky and tobacco constituted his stock in trade. The whisky was at first dealt out to his Indian customers in full strength, and pretty liberal quantities, until they became considerably oblivious, when the liquor was diluted, and finally, as they became still more intoxicated, water was freely substituted, and, as St. Cyr said, answered every purpose. But this trade was not sufficient for a livelihood, and St. Cyr cultivated about eight acres of ground, surrounded with a rude fence, raising corn, oats, potatoes, and a few vegetables.

His cabin was a small affair, about twelve feet square, with a dirt floor; and almost adjoining it was a stable of about the same dimensions. With a Winnebago woman for his wife, and two sons and two daughters, all young, he entertained the very few travelers that passed through the country. When A. F. Pratt and companion stopped there in February, 1837, as related in the first volume of *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, they had served up to them a kind of pot-pie which relished very well; and after finishing their meal, and inquiring what kind of meat they had eaten, they were informed that it was *muskrat*. Indeed muskrats, and occasionally pheasants, seemed to form the principal viands for his table; and St. Cyr would pleasantly observe, that the Englishmen, meaning white people generally, "would just as soon eat pheasant as rat, when all were cooked up together."

St. Cyr was a Canadian half-breed, born about 1806; had always lived on the frontier and among the Indians, and could speak English quite well, though he was entirely illiterate. He was a man of ordinary size, about one hundred and fifty pounds weight; with a thin visage, dark complexion, black hair and eyes, a quick step, and a ready, active man generally, in both body and mind. He was amiable, and kind to all, and scorned a dishonest man or a liar. He exercised a commanding influence over that portion of the Winnebagoes with whom he was associated.

Such was the pioneer settler with whom Gov. Doty and Mr. Suydam obtained entertainment in the fall of 1836, and who assisted them in taking such meanders and surveys of the shores of Third and Fourth Lakes, and other points, as were necessary for platting the embryo city of Madison.

St. Cyr claimed that he had made some arrangement with Judge Doty to enter for him the land where he lived; if so, the arrangement failed of its object. A. F. Pratt mentions, in his *Reminiscences of Wisconsin,* that "the lands which he had cultivated, had been sold without his knowledge; for in fact, he took no interest in any thing except trading in furs, etc." Col. W. B. Slaughter entered the tract in the summer or autumn of 1835, and conveyed an undivided interest to Judge Doty, Dec. 20th, in that year, with a view of having a town laid out there, and eventually securing the location of the Territorial Capital at that point. Accordingly Judge Doty employed John Bannister, a surveyor of Green Bay, who subsequently removed to Fond du Lac and died there, to lay out the City of the Four Lakes, where Rowan and St. Cyr had successively traded, and where Gen. Dodge had held a conference with the Winnebagoes, May 25th, 1832. It was surveyed and platted probably in June, 1836, as the certificate of the plat bears date, July 7th, of that year. Subsequently to purchasing an interest in Slaughter's tract, Judge Doty received proposals from Gov. Mason, of Michigan, to furnish money to enter the tract embracing the present locality of Madison—very likely at Doty's suggestion; which he probably regarded in a more favorable light than the Slaughter location. At the time of the eventful session of the Belmont Legislature, Col. Slaughter was absent in the South to spend the winter, and no one was present with tempting offers of corner lots in his behalf, and Madison was the successful competitor for the interesting prize at stake. So much for the City of the Four Lakes, and its unhappy fate.

To compensate St. Cyr for his trifling improvements, Col. Slaughter gave him some two hundred dollars; and about the

first of July, 1838, he removed first to Minnesota, and soon after to the Winnebago reservation in Iowa, and there he died about 1864. His two sons grew up worthless fellows among the Indians; and, as some of the Winnebagoes reported to Col. G. H. Slaughter, they "drink heap of whisky."

Michel St. Cyr was one of the half-breed Canadian race of the *coureurs des bois, voyageurs,* and Indian traders, whose wants were few and simple; and who, in manners, customs and acquirements, were but slightly in advance of the Indians among whom they associated, lived, and died. It was only the mere accident of his having been temporarily an early settler of Dane county, and the humble part he took in the primitive survey of Madison, that led to the perpetuation of his name and career in these early reminiscences of the country.

Green County Pioneers

By Albert Salisbury

No. 1.—Maj. William Deviese

Moved by an interest in the early affairs of this, my native State, and by a desire to assist, in some small measure, in the work of our Historical Society, I spent a part of my last summer vacation in looking up and "interviewing" some of the surviving pioneers of this portion of Wisconsin.

True, it is rather late to be seeking pioneer reminiscences, but "better late than never," especially since the men whom I have dug up, as it were, have thus far been almost wholly overlooked in all the many narratives that concern their times. A special interest attaches to them, moreover, from the fact that they have so long survived the events which made up the chief episodes of their lives.

William Deviese was born March 16, 1793, near Huntersville, Pocahontas Co., Virginia, of French and Scotch lineage. In March, 1826, at the age of thirty-three, he left Virginia, with a surveying party, bound for Arkansas; but on reaching the mouth of the Ohio, reports of the sickliness of the country caused him to turn aside into Illinois. At that time Cairo had hardly begun its existence, there being but a few "squatters" on or near its present site. Going on foot to Vandalia, he passed there the winter of 1826–27. There he saw Abraham Lincoln in the Legislature then in session.* In the early spring of 1827, Deviese went by wagon to St. Louis; thence by steamboat to the Des Moines Rapids; thence on foot to Shullsburg, Wis., stopping over night at Galena. At Van-

* This must be a mistake, as Mr. Lincoln, according to Barrett's *Life* of him, did not remove from Indiana to Illinois till 1830. L. C. D.

dalia he had made the acquaintance of Mr. James Hawthorn, who accompanied him on this journey and was his subsequent business partner. They reached Shullsburg March 28, 1827. They found there a Dutch trader named Shull, and four or five cabins occupied by perhaps forty or fifty miners, mostly Irish.

Deviese began mining about three-quarters of a mile east of Shullsburg, selling his ore to smelters. After spending a year here, he went, in the spring of 1828, to Blue Mounds, leaving Hawthorn to continue the work at Shullsburg. At the Mounds he found two men named Moore, who were trading a little, in whisky at least, and one John Duncan, afterwards well known throughout the region, and whom he thinks to have been the largest and most powerful man he ever saw.

Col. Ebenezer Brigham came to the Mounds soon after Deviese, and Jenkins and McCraney built a smelting furnace in the same year. It was while he was at Blue Mounds that the tragedy was enacted at Boner & McNutt's trading post, near what was afterwards Exeter village. He had known Boner and McNutt at Shullsburg. They had been led to establish themselves near Sugar river by the same information which also led Deviese to go thither at a later day for mining purposes. A man named Burks, in attempting to cross the Territory, had become lost, and had chanced upon the old Indian diggings while making his way towards Shullsburg, on horseback. Deviese, in his account of the Exeter affair, agrees substantially with that given by Mr. J. W. Stewart, in vol. iii *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, except that he says that Van Sickle was not a Frenchman but a Dutchman—an excellent interpreter, but a great liar.

After the murder of Boner, McNutt fled to Blue Mounds, and was lying drunk at Moores' when the news reached the Mounds. He was tied by Deviese, Duncan and others, and delivered up to the officers from Dodgeville. McNutt made no resistance, being in fact too drunk, but denied all knowledge of the murder, and said if he had killed Boner he knew

nothing of it, as may have been the case. He was kept in jail at Prairie du Chien for a year and a half, and then acquitted.

In July, 1828, Deviese went down to this old trading-post to prospect the old Indian diggings already mentioned, and afterwards known as Sugar River or Exeter Diggings. Being successful in "prospecting," he returned to the Mounds, and on August 12th of the same summer, he started to establish himself permanently on Sugar river, leaving Hawthorn to continue work at Blue Mounds, as he had before done at Shullsburg. In the autumn, Wm. Wallace and wife, and Josiah R. Blackmore, went down as employees. Blackmore stayed two years. He is the man from whom Mr. Stewart chiefly derived his reminiscences of early days in Green county, and is said to be still living at Warren, Illinois.

In the spring of 1829, Deviese built a smelting furnace near the old stand of Boner and McNutt, one and a half miles west of Exeter. Other diggers had come down during the winter, and his smelting business became quite lively in the summer of '29. That summer he broke and planted a turnip patch. In the fall he went to Fulton and Peoria counties, Illinois, and brought up a drove of hogs. The following summer, 1830, he broke sixteen acres, and put in corn, pumpkins, turnips and oats.

The lead smelted meantime was hauled to Galena, by oxen, sometimes as many as eight yoke being attached to a single wagon. It commanded, generally, about eighty dollars a ton, but in the spring of 1829, it was very low, owing to the tariff excitement that accompanied the election of Andrew Jackson to the Presidency.

In 1830, many miners were leaving, panic-struck. He thinks it was in that year, instead of 1828, as stated by Mr. Stewart, that John B. Skinner and Thos. Neal commenced at Skinner's Diggings, a few miles north of Monroe. Skinner had previously owned a furnace at Blue Mounds. Andrew Clarno was living with Skinner in 1830, and began on a farm in the town that bears his name, in 1831, as Deviese thinks.

Deviese had all along done something at trading, besides his mining operations; but in 1831, John Dougherty set up a trading stand on the present site of Exeter. This was a dull year, but Deviese kept on smelting with four employees, and put in a crop in 1832.

The settlers on Sugar river knew nothing of the Black Hawk War until May of that year, when the Winnebagoes told Dougherty's half-breed wife of the outbreak. At that time the Sacs and Foxes were about the mouth of the Kishwaukee, and the engagement at Stillman's Run had already taken place. The information was received about noon, and that evening all started for Galena by the only conveyance at hand—a broken down yoke of oxen, and the running gear of an old buggy, as all the teams happened to be on a trip to Galena with lead. Everything was left behind, including their tools, 30,000 lbs. of lead, and Dougherty's merchandise.

Deviese went to Wiota and joined a militia company under Wm. S. Hamilton, and assisted in building the blockhouse called Fort Hamilton. While they were forted here, occurred the massacre of Spafford's farm, in which Omri Spafford, James McIlwaine, Abraham Searles and a man called John Bull, were killed by the Indians. They were attacked in a corn-field; Spafford would not run, but stood at bay, and was killed in the field. Francis Spencer, who owned part of the field, escaped through a ravine, as did also another of the party. The other men swam the river, and were shot, as it seems, while trying to get up the farther bank. The men at the fort were soon apprised of the affair, and when the body of the man called John Bull was fished out of the stream, his watch had not yet stopped. Spencer was found some days afterward under the floor of an old stable or hog-pen, nearly crazed with fright. A few days later, on the morning of June 16th, Henry Apple was killed near the fort, and Gen. Dodge rode soon afterwards into the fort, and ordered all the mounted men into pursuit of the Indians. Col. Hamilton was absent, and had left the fort in command of Capt.

Harrison, a relative of Old Tippecanoe, as was Col. Hamilton of the distinguished Alexander Hamilton.

The men sprang to their horses and Deviese mounting Capt. Harrison's horse in his haste, was off with the rest. Maj. Kirkpatrick's dog took the trail, and in course of the day the Red-Skins were overtaken. After they were first seen they ran about two miles, and finally took shelter under the thicketed bank of a small lake or pond near the Peckatonica. They fired first, hitting in all four men. Dodge shouted, "charge them, G—d d—n them, every man sword in hand!" The amusing part of it was, that there was not a sword in the whole command except his own. The horses had been left behind at the edge of the woods, in charge of a few men detailed for the purpose. After the Indian fire, Dodge's men charged and killed all but one, he thinks, at the first fire. That one was shot by Adjt. Woodbridge as he crawled up the opposite bank of the lake. The Indians threw their arms into the water after their fire, not having time to re-load, and realizing, seemingly, that the game was up with them. Deviese thinks that when Dodge's men fired, the range was not more than twenty-five feet. After all was over, one of the party, who had succeeded in getting behind in some way, came riding up furiously, and "spoiling for a fight." The coat worn by Dodge in this fight, as in all others, was not really a coat at all, in the usual acceptation of the word, but a buck-skin hunting shirt.

After the battle of the Peckatonica, most severe rains set in, occasioning a delay in operations for several days; after which they set out from Fort Hamilton and struck Rock river at the mouth of the Catfish. They kept the west side of Lake Koshkonong, and camped half way up the lake to wait for the troops. The command at this time consisted of about sixty men, besides a few friendly Menomonees. Gen. Atkinson overtook them at the mouth of Bark river, and built blockhouses where the village of Fort Atkinson now stands. A force went up Bark river to the mouth of the Whitewater, but finding no trail returned. After some other fruitless searching, Gen. Dodge, with Gens. Posey and Henry from Illinois, went

across with several hundred men to where Madison now stands, and thence struck the Black Earth, following it down to its mouth, where the battle of Wisconsin Heights occurred on the fourth or fifth day from Fort Atkinson. The Indians fired when Dodge was on the top of the bluff, but killed nobody. Dodge's fire killed eleven. The Indians plunged into the river and swam from island to island or hid in the tall grass. Dodge camped on the battlefield as night was just coming on. All that night shouting was heard from the opposite bluff. As they afterwards learned, it was Black Hawk calling in the Winnebago tongue to propose a treaty, he wrongly supposing that the whites had Winnebagoes with them.

From here the troops dispersed to the settlements for supplies. Gen. Posey went to Fort Hamilton. Deviese then went on an express alone to Ft. Atkinson and back. Gen. Atkinson left Capt. Low* at the fort with thirty or forty men, and marched with the rest to meet Dodge at Helena, where there was a small settlement, and where they all crossed the Wisconsin. The Indians had followed the Wisconsin down to a point nine miles below Helena. The troops struck the trail at once, and followed to the mouth of the Bad Axe.

Deviese did not leave here until the command had been gone for a day or two. That part of the journey between Dodgeville and Helena he made during the darkest night that he ever saw. He thinks that the only time he ever really suffered from fear during the whole war, was that night, when he probably had least to fear, except the possibility perhaps of going astray. When a day's journey beyond Helena, he was obliged to camp alone, though so near the command that he heard the drums beat next morning.

The night before the battle of Bad Axe, when about four miles from the Mississippi, Deviese with another man named Marsh, went on an express to Prairie du Chien. In the morn-

* Capt. Gideon Low, a native of Pennsylvania, was appointed an Ensign in the first U. S. regiment of infantry, June 1, 1813, and served during the whole war with Great Britain, having been promoted first to a Second Lieutenant, and then to a First Lieutenant, and was disbanded when the army was reduced, in June, 1815. In 1819, he re-entered the service as Second Lieutenant of Rifles, and served in the line, and part of the time as assistant Commissary of Subsistence, till August 1828, when he was promoted to a Captaincy, served through the Black Hawk War, resigned in Feb., 1840, and died at Fort Winnebago, in May, 1850. L. C. D.

ing they were somewhat alarmed by fresh trails in the dew, made probably by deer, but reached Prairie du Chien late that night. Capt. Loomis sent the steamboat "Warrior" up the river. Deviese left his horse and went up on the boat, reaching the battle-ground early next morning. Dodge had sixteen wounded, and none killed, though Capt. Bowman, one of the wounded, died on the trip down. The boat also carried down the wounded Indians.

From Prairie du Chien, Deviese, though worn down and nearly sick, went on an express to Capt. Low, at Fort Atkinson, having for a companion young Dougherty, son of the trader. They went by the way of Dodgeville, and their own settlement of Exeter. They found everything burned, buildings, goods and tools. Deviese thinks it was not done by the Indians, but by a Frenchman named Edward Beouchard, to spite Dougherty, with whom he was at disagreement. This Beouchard was a boastful, revengeful and worthless fellow who had been for some time at Blue Mounds. At last accounts he was still living at Mineral Point.*

Capt. Low sent messengers to Gen. Scott at Rock Island, while he himself went back to his old post at Fort Winnebago. Jefferson Davis was at this time a Lieutenant under Capt. Low, both at Fort Atkinson and Fort Winnebago—"and as gentlemanly a man as I ever saw," adds Maj. Deviese. The men went on their errand and met Gen. Scott where Beloit now is, on his way from Chicago to the lead mines. Scott turned down Rock river to Rock Island. Deviese went ahead to Fort Dixon where he was sick, and Scott sent him home. He was mustered out at Wiota, eventually receiving a dollar a day for the services of himself and horse during the war.

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* It is due to truth and charity to say, that such men as Beouchard, who have seen much of frontier life and border adventure, are apt to be thought as boastful, when in point of fact, their narratives, oftentimes strange and romantic, are nevertheless within the bounds of truth and probability. Beouchard was a native of Canada, and early engaged in the fur-trade, and went over to the Pacific Ocean. He returned by way of the Red river settlement, at a time when Lord Selkirk was on the way there in a half-starved condition, and Beouchard took a supply of dried meat, went, met and succored him, and conducted him to the settlement. We have already related that he was, in 1822, employed by Col. James Johnson in effecting the purchase of the lead diggings of Old Buck, the Winnebago miner. During the Black Hawk War, he was a trusted scout of General Dodge. Judge M. M. Cothren, Hon. Moses M. Strong, and Maj. Charles F. Legate, for many years neighbors of Mr. Beouchard at Mineral Point, unite in testifying to his patriotism and kindness of heart, and regard him as reliable in his historical statements, as the uncertain memories of such aged men usually are. L. C. D.

He went back to Exeter and began to rebuild in the latter days of August or first of September. He found his oxen, cut hay, and re-established himself as best he could. He kept on smelting till the next year, when he sold his furnace to Dougherty, and went to mining exclusively, continuing at this until 1850. By 1835 he had become worth a considerable figure, but suffered severely from the crash of 1837. It was estimated that during the time he was in the lead business, he made and spent, or lost, about $40,000. In 1835 Kemp and Collins bought out Dougherty. Exeter saw its palmiest days in 1839, '40 and '41, and was platted in 1843. In those days a great deal of money was handled in Exeter, which is now, perhaps the most forlorn hamlet in the State.

Thus far Deviese—almost in his own words, and without addition or embellishment; but of the years that follow he does not wish to speak. Some particulars were added concerning the state of society among the early miners, the method of making claims, etc.; but to interrogatories touching later years he quietly replied, "that is all that is worth telling." Though in his seventy-ninth year, he seems to have clear and definite recollections of the interesting times now nearly half a century gone by, but has little or none of the boastful garrulity so often observed in men of his age and experience.

Since the Black Hawk War, he has but once been outside of Green and Dane counties. A dozen years ago or more he spent part of one summer in following up some indications of lead that he had seen while scouting in the Bad Axe country in 1832. For the past eighteen years he has been a member of the household of Mr. Hollis Crocker, residing three miles west of Belleville, Dane county, whose wife, by the way, the mother of ten children, is a native of Wisconsin, having been born at Gratiot's Grove. Deviese has always lived a bachelor. As he says, at the time he ought to have been marrying, he was going out of the marrying world into the wilderness.

His most noticeable infirmity is a partial deafness. Though not vigorous, he is still able to walk to church every Sunday morning, a distance of over a mile. It may interest the few

who may have known him in the days of his reverses, to learn that for the last sixteen years he has entirely abstained from strong drink, and lived an exemplary member of the Methodist church.

Maj. Deviese has not been without some scanty and imperfect notice in the historical records of Wisconsin; but his name is always incorrectly given. In Mr. Stewart's sketch he is called Davies; in vol. iii of Gen. Smith's *History*, Lieut. Bracken calls him Deva; Beouchard's narrative in the same volume, is nearer right, giving it as Devies. Ought not the portrait of this veteran pioneer to grace the Society's rooms?

No. 2.—James Hawthorn

"Uncle Jimmy Hawthorn" was born Oct. 22, 1797, in Orange Co., New York, and lived in that region up to the age of nineteen. When New York City was threatened in the War of 1812, though but a boy of sixteen, he was among the volunteers stationed at Brooklyn. Among his recollections of that time is that of seeing launched one of the earliest steamboats on the North River.

"A young man had no chance there," and so with a view to make his own opportunities, he went on foot to Pittsburg in 1817, carrying his total effects in a knapsack. From Pittsburg a flat-boat conveyed him to the mouth of the Scioto; thence he went by land to an uncle then living near Old Chillicothe. After working at Chillicothe a year, he went on a flat-boat to New Orleans, and thence took passage for New York in a brig, for it was before the day of ocean steamers. He paid twenty-five dollars for his passage, boarding himself.

After spending three years in his native county, he again clambered over the mountains to Pittsburg, and thence went on to Hamilton, Ohio. May 9, 1822, he started down the Big Miami on a flat-boat, loaded with flour, for New Orleans. He received $40.00 as wages for the trip. By this time there were several steamboats on the Mississippi, and on one of

these he returned from New Orleans, at a fare of $12.00; the passage to Louisville occupying twenty-two days.

From Hamilton he next went to Edwardsville, Illinois, where he worked at "carpentering" about two years. He then went to Vandalia, where he worked for another two years. During the winter of 1826–27, he fell in with Wm. Deviese; and in March, 1827, they left Vandalia for the mining country. Going by wagon to St. Louis, they there took passage for Galena on a steamboat; but, on account of low water, were unable to get over the rapids near what was then known as Fort Edwards. The Captain of the boat refunded half the passage money, and a party of about twenty went forward on foot. From Rock Island they got their provisions carried by teams that were going up. On Apple river they made a scanty breakfast of their last "grub," not knowing at that time anything about their distance from new supplies, but they reached Galena that afternoon.

Hawthorn and Deviese began mining near Shullsburg, where Hawthorn remained till Oct., 1828, when he followed Deviese to Blue Mounds. There he found Col. Brigham, Jenkins* and Thomas McCraney and, he thinks, Esau Johnson also. He remained at the Mounds about two years, mining there while Deviese was on Sugar river.

While here, Hawthorn was called to Prairie du Chien, in the spring of 1829, as a juryman to the U. S. District Court. There were twenty indictments for murder, resulting in but one conviction—that of a soldier who had killed his Lieutenant. Sixteen different persons were indicted who had participated in a charivari, which had resulted as so many of those things do. The two ring-leaders broke jail and left for Canada. At Green Bay they got a job of making shingles, and having been supplied by their employer with provisions, blankets, etc., it need not be said that they did not stay long in their shingle camp.

At this term of Court, McNutt was tried for the murder of

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* Probably Thomas Jenkins, who participated in the battle of Peckatonica, June 15, 1832, and was severely wounded there. L. C. D.

Boner on Sugar river. Van Sickle, the interpreter, being the only witness for the prosecution, his veracity was impeached by the defense, and McNutt was acquitted. Hawthorn laughs over a remark which he heard Van Sickle make after the trial—that "they brought in that bloody Jake Hunter to swear against me, and he's as d—d a liar as I am myself."

Another trial which excited much interest, was that of two men for the killing of Clopton. Clopton and Van Meter were traders near Dodgeville, and had become involved in a dispute with one Wells and another man, over a mineral claim. Matters had gone so far that Clopton and Van Meter were approaching the claim with the avowed purpose of driving off the other claimants, when they were fired upon by them. One ball passed through Van Meter's leg and hit Clopton, as did also the other ball. Wells and his comrade escaped, but a reward of $2000 having been offered for their apprehension, they went into St. Louis, and got a lawyer named Bates to deliver them up and take the reward as a fee for defending their case. Bates was the best lawyer in St. Louis, and, Hawthorn thinks, the same who was in later years Lincoln's Attorney General.* They were acquitted.

At length Hawthorn and Deviese dissolved partnership, and Hawthorn went back to Shullsburg, where he prospected through the summer of 1830. He then went into partnership with John Armstrong, near Gratiot's Grove, where they worked a wet mine. They "ran up a water level," and cleared $3000 in eighteen months. The mineral after smelting, was sent to Galena. A tax of one-tenth was paid by the smelters to the Government.

In the summer of 1832, he "sauntered about," staying for a while at Funk's Blockhouse, as he had an excellent rifle, whose services the inmates of the Blockhouse were anxious to retain. In the autumn of that year, Hawthorn went to St. Louis, there bought a horse, and rode all the way to the Hudson river, a two months' trip, passing through Vandalia, Indian-

* Hon. Edward Bates, who was born in Goochland county, Va., Sept. 4, 1793, and died at St. Louis, March 25, 1869, was at the period referred to, one of the most eminent jurists in the West. He settled in St. Louis in 1814, and subsequently filled many important positions, including that of Attorney General of the United States. L. C. D.

apolis and Chillicothe. He paid $65.00 for his horse, and sold it in Orange county, N. Y., for $100.

The next spring, 1833, he came via Buffalo to Detroit. The stage then ran westward from Detroit only to St. Joseph, from which latter place he got conveyance by wagon to Chicago and Ottawa. From Ottawa he went by steamboat to St. Louis, and thence to Dubuque, where the excitement over the new lead discoveries was then at its height. Dubuque then consisted of a few miners' shanties. Anticipations proved delusive. But little lead was found; cholera made its appearance, and as we may infer, a stampede ensued. In October, 1833, Hawthorn returned to Green county, and located the farm where he still lives, two miles south of what is now Monroe.

He relates that in the ensuing winter, as he was one day coming in from making rails in the woods, he saw his cabin-door standing open the wrong way. Some Indian guns were standing outside, which he might have got possession of, had he retained proper presence of mind. He first stood in the door with his axe drawn, but then sprang for his own rifle which was hanging inside. He did not see an Indian pass him, but when he got back to the door, the nearest one was standing some distance away, with gun raised ready to shoot. The others were out of sight. Thirty or forty dollars in silver were in his saddlebags, but the attention of the Red-Skins had been so closely given to his stock of cold victuals that they had made no other plunder.

Joe Paine, who afterwards killed a man and left the country, Wm. Wallace and J. R. Blackmore, both formerly employees of Deviese at Exeter, and Andrew Clarno, were in the same vicinity before him. All had but twenty acres broke when Hawthorn came. Clarno broke his first land in 1830 or 1831. Hawthorn thinks with Deviese, that it was in 1830 that Skinner and Neal opened the diggings north of Monroe. After Hawthorn came Hiram Rust, Capt. Ross and others.

The first marriage in the settlement was that of Blackmore to Wallace's daughter, in the fall of 1834. Hawthorn was

married next, in 1836; and after him, Cameron. The first white child born in Green county was Charles R. Deniston, in 1834.

"Uncle Jimmy" is still living on the farm that he opened in 1833, and, though not married till the age of thirty-nine, has raised thirteen children, some of whom are already pioneering in the Far West. He is still a hale, jolly man—well to do in the world, and likely to remain therein for years to come.

No. 3.—French Lake

French Lake is, in the fullest acceptation of the term, an original character. He is one of nature's greatest successes in the line of oddities. No connected narrative could be obtained from him, he was so fearful of getting into print.

He is a Virginian by birth, having begun life in that part of the Old Dominion which was devastated by the Potomac Army. He is still a Virginian; has visited his native region since the war; is as bitter over its ruin as any lover of the "Lost Cause" can possibly be; and *"does not wish to be identified with Wisconsin at all,"* though a resident since May, 1828.

Woe betide the writer hereof, should this sketch ever come to the eyes of "old Lake." When I was first introduced to him on the street, a dozen men had gathered in the corner store to see what manner of reception I would meet. As I proceeded to make my wishes known, I was somewhat apprehensive, after all that I had been told, of his ample cowhide boots; but all went well until the idea of publication began to develop, when with an emphatic and profane explosion, he bolted for the other side of the street. Nothing daunted, however, I gave pursuit, and the final result was a promise that if I could find my way out to his place some day he would talk over old times.

He lives in "Spring Grove Woods," about eight miles south-west of Brodhead, and four or five miles south-east of Juda. Like all the old Virginian and Pennsylvanian settlers of this region, he had selected the close vicinity of a spring as the necessary place to build; and so I found him living close

by the site of his original cabin, which is still standing, though built thirty-five years ago, and surrounded on all sides by heavy timber, with his nearest plow land nearly half a mile away. He owns, if I remember rightly, over 1,200 acres of land, all valuable timber or plow land. He raises large numbers of horses, sometimes keeping them strangers to the harness till eight or ten years old, refusing all offers even though extravagant; while, on the other hand, a man that strikes his fancy, may very likely get a team at half the real value. In all other traffic he is no less eccentric.

I obtained from him an account of the battle of the Peckatonica, which he had received from a young fellow called "Pony Fletcher," who was a participant; but after all that has been said about that little fight, it is hardly worth while to add yet another version.

Concerning the affair at Blue Mounds the case is different, since the wrong man has made himself the hero. I refer to the killing of Force and Green, during the Black Hawk War, and the pretended exploits of Edward Beouchard. Concerning the death of Aubrey, some former accounts have stated that he had gone to a spring for water. Lake insists that it was not for water, which was only a hundred rods away; but that Aubrey and a man named Smith went to the diggings, a mile and a half away, after some mining tools called "pickawees," which had been left there. Being attacked by Indians Aubrey fell, but Smith, by wonderful running, succeeded in reaching the Blockhouse.

At the time of the killing of Force and Green, which occurred some time afterwards, but few men were in the fort. Lake was lying in the loft asleep; but was awakened by the firing and consequent stir. Beouchard states that he tried in vain to get some one to go with him after the body of Green, and finally went alone, and found the body in such a state of mutilation, which he minutely describes in his narrative appended to Gen. Smith's *History of Wisconsin,* that he could only bring in the pieces by gathering them in a horse-cloth. Lake says that Beouchard did not go alone, but was accom-

panied, if not led, by a man named Dalbey, whom Beouchard does not mention in his list of those in the fort; and that the mutilation so particularly specified, was wholly without foundation. The body was "speared," a few times, and that was all.

Beouchard speaks of the finding of the body of Lieutenant Force, and says that part of it had been carried away, "probably for a cannibal feast." This, also, Lake pronounces a ridiculous misrepresentation. He describes Beouchard as a vain, restless, drunken boaster—"a regular goat," who once fired off a gun inside the fort, and was "slapped" therefor by McCraney, for so frightening the women.

Lake left Blue Mounds in the autumn of 1833. After the opening of the land office at Green Bay, he with a few others, went thither to enter land. They went to Fort Winnebago, and followed down the Fox river, walking the whole distance except the last day's journey, for which they hired passage in a canoe.

On his return, he, with another man, took a contract to furnish the troops at Fort Winnebago with hay, and spent the autumn in hay-making upon the Portage marshes. They made well at it, earning from three to four dollars each per day—no small sum in those days.

He settled at his present abode in May, 1836, living for many years a bachelor; but is now a widower, with growing sons and daughters. And, with all his peculiarities, the State has many citizens whom it could better spare than French Lake.

Brodhead, Wis.

Early Settlement of Rock County

Journal of Isaac T. Smith, 1835–36

It was on the 26th of November, 1835, that I first set foot in Wisconsin. The weather was extremely cold, with one foot of snow upon the ground. I was in company with some families, consisting of women and small children, some of the latter but a few months old. As we were compelled to camp out upon the ground, our first lesson of Wisconsin pioneering was not the most agreeable. However, we made the best of it. I made a claim two miles north of Skunk Grove, in Racine county, and there spent the winter. In a few days after my arrival, I became acquainted with Henry F. Janes; and as his name is so intimately connected with the early, as well as the subsequent, history of Janesville, a brief description of the man may not be entirely uninteresting.

Mr. Janes was a man full six feet and two inches in height, and well proportioned; of rather dark complexion, good natured, free and easy in conversation, fond of company, especially of a political chum, and an old pioneer. He never tired in hearing or telling a good story, and had a fund of incident connected with the first settlements and late wars. He was among the first settlers of Racine county, and made his claim about four miles north of Skunk Grove, before the land was surveyed, and found afterwards that a part of his claim was on the school section, No. 16, and fearing he might be troubled to get a title, he concluded to go farther west. He was of a roving disposition, and liked the excitement incident to a new country, and not inclined to work himself, but to plan for others. He never was wanting for a good excuse to change his location.

Accordingly, during the winter, he fitted out a horse team, and with a small party, started west for Rock river. On arriving at Muskego Lake, they found the outlet frozen over and in attempting to cross, the ice broke, letting in the team; and in getting the horses out, he hurt one of them so that her lip became paralyzed, and hung down, and she refused to eat, or could not, and of course soon died. Janes gave the name of Lip Creek to the stream. This accident, and other discouraging circumstances, caused the party to return. This name of Lip Creek, as applied to the outlet of Muskego Lake, was retained for a long time.

The next time they started, they concluded not to take a team, but Janes and a man named Harness, commenced their journey to Rock river; and, as they were told by the Indian traders that it was but sixty miles, they concluded they would pack through with a single horse. The weather was extremely cold, and there being no trail to follow, their progress was very fatiguing. And when they arrived at what is now called Mount Zion, and seeing the prairie stretching away to the west until bounded by the horizon, and supposing that Rock river was still west of that, and their provisions like to fail, they became discouraged, and returned back for a further supply of food.

Again they started with full supplies, and reached Rock river in safety. Janes traveled about for some time and in consequence of cold weather, and exposed as one must be in camping out, together with the glare of the snow, his eyes became so affected that he could scarcely see at all. But on the 15th of January, 1836.* he made his claim where the city of Janesville now stands. Many have given him great credit for foresight in making his location; but in the absence of *any sight,* it was probably "more by hit than good wit."

Returning to the Skunk Grove settlement, Janes patiently, or impatiently, awaited the proper time to commence the removal of his family to Rock river. The winter of 1835–36

* Mr. Janes himself states that he made his claim on the 15th of February, 1836. L. C. D.

was very cold, and the spring late and backward, so that he had to wait till the middle of May before grass was large enough for stock to live upon. I was engaged to accompany him to assist in driving the cattle. We started on Sunday, May 15th, 1836. The company consisted of Janes and family, Richard Miller, Levi Harness, a Mr. Beasley and myself. The first six miles were passed without difficulty. Then came a storm of rain and hail, with so strong a wind, that we were obliged to halt with the family wagon, in the leeward of the one that was loaded with provisions and farming tools, or get capsized. In a short time the storm passed on, and so did our company. The first night we camped among a few scattering trees on section 3, town 3, north of range 20 east, and flattered ourselves that we should enjoy a good night's rest. But in this we were sadly disappointed.

May 16. Rained nearly all night. The most of the family slept in their wagon, but some of the men and myself had a bed on the ground; and the first that I knew of the rain was on waking in the night, and finding water under and around me, until I was half covered, and more coming down. I could not stand that, although lying down, so concluded to try it sitting up in one of the wagons that was loaded with goods, and covered with cotton cloth; the canvas so low that I could not sit upright, without my head coming in contact with it, when the water would come through in streams on my head and neck.

I found in the morning that I was not an "upright man," however much I might strive to be; for my neck was stiff, at an angle of forty-five, for several days. However, my misfortune did not impede our journey west, and we made slow progress, as the sloughs were soft, and a great many of them; and in one place, in following along near the outlet of Muskego Lake, we were obliged to have ropes to hold the wagon from turning over.

Some time after noon we forded the Fox river at what is now called Rochester. There was but one family there at the

time, that of a Mr. Godfrey*; he came out to see us, and seemed quite pleased as it was the first train of the season, and although we were going to settle on Rock river, he was very glad he should have neighbors so *near* him. He also cheered us by saying that our road would be much better, and less wet marshes. We drove about four miles, and camped at Honey Creek on section 1, town 3 north, range 18 east. We had thus far found a few wagon tracks to guide us; but no wagons had ever yet been west of Godfrey's.

May 17th. Spent some time this morning in searching for a good place to ford the stream, as it was quite deep from the recent rain. At last we selected a place, removed some of the turf with our spades at the steep banks, and hitched all the cattle to one wagon, and started. The cattle had but little difficulty until the fore wheels struck the steep bank when the rear team of old stags on the tongue came to their knees and fell down flat, when the lash was applied to the forward ones, who pulled them out, wagon and all; as the load raised the bank, the old short horns righted, but looked rather hard after their morning exercise. By repeating the operation, we finally got all safely over. We followed on or near a section line which we took at Rochester, and so had no difficulty as to the course, as we knew where the line would strike an Indian trail that led to Rock river, where we wished to go.

At noon to-day we turned a little to the left, and went down a steep hill to get to water and grass. Janes told us he believed this stream was called Poc-a-chee-woc. I think it must have been Sugar Creek. In raising the hill after dinner, one of the leading cattle balked, and then came the tug of war. This was the first time I had seen Janes angry; but the way he did make the fur fly was a caution to all balky oxen. After we left that place, our route lay south of where West Troy now is; and all went well until we came to a large marsh, southwest of Troy, where it was about one mile across as our course lay. Janes had crossed it when frozen in winter, and thought

* Levi Godfrey was the first white settler in Rochester, Racine county, locating on the west side of Fox river, securing a water power there, in the fall of 1835; building a sixteen feet square shanty, and bringing his family there early in 1836. L. C. D.

he would find no difficulty in doing so now; and it extended some miles south, and, as he supposed, north also. We got along quite well for three-fourths of the way, and had begun to flatter ourselves that we would not stick, when the old mare on which the oldest boy rode began to scrabble, and show signs of going under. The old lady, Mrs. Janes, called to the boy to jump off, and the old man to stick on, which last he obeyed; and the old nag stuck fast, with all legs out of sight. We stopped all the teams and loose stock, held a council, and examined the mud.

We first took the young colt some two rods ahead, and then I held it so as to entice the old mare to use her utmost exertion to get to it. Janes and Beasley put a strap under her and lifted on that, while Harness and Miller helped what they could; and repeating the effort a dozen times, at length brought Old Betty on terra firma. We then unyoked the old short horns, as they were so heavy they could not draw without miring down, and left them to get through as best they could; and put all of the rest to one wagon, and took it through but not over. We took off the barrels of flour and pork from the wagon, and left them on the marsh until we got the wagons to dry ground; and then with the side boards laid down, we rolled the barrels some forty rods over the mire to hard ground. Not an ox escaped miring down except the balky one, and he would not pull, so all he had to do was to carry his own weight. If there was but one ox down at a time we would not stop, but pulled him out by the head. After crossing the marsh we camped for the night on section 34, town 4 north, range 17 east. I have since learned, that Othni and Alexander Beardsley were then encamped in hearing of our cattle bells, in search of claims, and located theirs at West Troy.

May 18. This morning left camp cheerfully, and with assurance that we would not be troubled with marshes. About noon came to Turtle creek, where we let the teams drink and feed, as they would get no more water until we

got to Rock river. Here we became aware that even an old pioneer sometimes forgot the needful, as we had no empty keg to carry water in for cooking our supper and breakfast, as well as to drink for the next twenty-four hours or more. The only thing that could be spared was the vessel with twenty gallons of maple sugar vinegar in it. So the vinegar was poured upon the sandy shore of Turtle Creek, and we filled it with water, and started again; and after a few miles travel, we came on the far famed Rock Prairie, the paradise of the West, and certainly I never saw it when it looked so fine as at that time. The prairie grass was now green, and largely interspersed with flowers. There was not the mark of a plow to be seen, and but very few wagon tracks; not a house nor a fence, nor anything to show that civilized man had ever been there. The country was *alone* in its glorious grandeur. We drove a few miles, and encamped near where John A. Fletcher, of Johnstown, since located his residence.

May 19th. Started this morning very early as the teams would have to reach the river before they could drink. We used most of the water, but when we were three miles from the river, one hog we were driving gave out with fatigue and thirst. We dug a place in the prairie, and poured the last of the water in it, and let the hog wallow in it awhile, which served greatly to revive him, and then we went on. When near the Spring Brook, about a mile below where the city now is, the cattle that were loose started on a run for drink; and the first water they came to was in deep holes, with perpendicular banks, and the cattle plunged all under, to the great danger of drowning a part of them. They at length satisfied their thirst, and got out in safety. We stopped awhile at the house of Samuel St. John, fed our teams and took our dinner; and he went with us to show us the best way to get to the house of Mr. Janes, which he had previously built upon his claim. Spring Brook was very much swollen by rain, and in many places was eight or ten feet deep. We had to go some distance up the valley of the creek towards

Black Hawk Grove, crossed over, and follow up a ravine to get on the high land, and then down another ravine to the river. We found the log cabin which had been raised and covered with shakes by men that Janes had hired to do it for him; as when he was previously here his eyes were sore, and he could not work himself. The cabin was made of logs, not very straight, and not chinked. It had no door, and was not well calculated to keep out the rain, as we had abundance of evidence in a few hours; for there was an uncommonly severe thunder-storm and hard wind, and the best we could do was to hold a blanket at the door as well as we could, and put the wagon boards down to keep out the water.

There were four families then near and on what is now the city limits of Janesville. Samuel St. John lived nearly a mile below, where Milwaukee Street bridge now stands, and Dr. James Heath's house stood a little above the Monterey stone quarry, on the south side of the river; the house of Wm. Holmes, senior, was on the west side, and John Holmes' cabin on the east side, near where the old brick yard was, above the steam saw-mill. I think these were all of the families then in Wisconsin in the Rock river valley. Arriving here on the 19th of May, on the next day we started the breaking plow.

On Sunday, the 22d I was at St. John's and there saw Mr. Caleb Blodgett, and some others, that were looking claims; and while there a Frenchman, of whom they had hired some horses, came for them, as they had been retained beyond the time engaged, and he became uneasy about his pony stock. Seeing the ponies feeding on the flat, he caught them before coming to the house; and when he came he was very angry; but a little soft sawder, and the milk of human kindness, put all right; and the old man told us much about the country and the Black Hawk War, as he was here all through it, and said that he and Gen. Scott made the treaty at Rock Island. Blodgett bought the old man's claim, where Beloit now stands; he had previously moved to the foot of Lake Koshko-

nong where I afterwards was well acquainted with him. He often told me that he was an interpreter in making the treaty spoken of. I think he spelled his name Joseph Thebalt, but he was called Tebo, or Thiebeau.*

I stopped a few days with Mr. Janes, and made a claim on the farm since owned by Mrs. Strunk and children, and built a cabin to secure it in my absence. On the 25th of May, I started in company with Beasley to return to Racine. We provided ourselves with food for dinner, but not for supper, as we expected to reach Rochester by night. We filled a pint flask with water, and put it in our pocket, thinking it would last to Turtle Creek, twenty miles; but with fast walking, we soon got thirsty and drank it, and after that allayed our thirst with the water we found in the cattle tracks along our route. We were not able to reach our "neighbor's" house at Fox river, and consequently were compelled to camp out, without food, fire, or blanket. We had one overcoat between us.

We were awakened next morning without being summoned by that modern contrivance called a gong; and before sunrise forded Honey Creek, waist deep, and in good time for breakfast arrived at neighbor Godfrey's, where we discussed his hospitalities in a manner to flatter the ambition of the most fastidious cook in the country. At this place we met the families of Maj. Meacham, Mr. Spoor, and two others, on their way to Troy. After breakfast, and a short chat with the newcomers, we started on. As there was no boat, we were obliged to ford the river, which was much deeper than when we crossed it on our way out. It was our only chance. I placed my journal in my hat to keep it dry, not being then troubled with money with which to take the same precaution, and with my overcoat rolled up and placed upon my shoulders, taking a long stick with which to steady myself, we took to the water,

* We learn from a statement of Geo. W. Ogden, in Guernsey's *History of Rock County*, that Thiebeau was a Canadian, the earliest settler at Beloit, and then located what is since known as Thiebeau's Point, near the foot of Lake Koshkonong. He with his family—his two Indian wives, and three or four children—remained there until the winter of 1837-38, when he was murdered, no doubt, by his son Francis and his mother, one of Thiebeau's wives. This resulted from a family quarrel; he wishing to remain there, and cultivate the land, while they were anxious to follow the Indians west of the Mississippi. L. C. D.

like true believers in hydropathy. Beasley was a man above the usual size, and he succeeded well, but I not being well built for wading, should certainly have been compelled to swim, had I not taken the precaution to provide myself with the stick.

Our transit across the river was watched by our new acquaintances with deep interest; and I cannot but say that the thought that they were watching us with anxiety, inspired us with courage, and a sort of pride, to stem the angry current, and aided us much in making a *safe* passage. At least, it gave us great pleasure to know that we were watched with interest by those strangers. I have since renewed the acquaintance I then made, with some of them, and found them such people as one would choose for neighbors and friends. At the time of taking the precaution of securing my journal in the top of my hat, I little thought of ever being called upon for an extract from its pages.

Towards evening of the same day, I arrived at my home, having traveled through some of the best, and certainly some of the most delightful and beautiful country I had ever before seen. In sixty-five miles I passed but one house. At that time I did not know of a family residing in what is now Walworth county; if there were any, they must have lived on the extreme south side.

I will note the origin of a few of the names applied to localities in Rock county. Thiebeau, the old French trader, and early settler at Beloit, told me that the name Koshkonong was of Winnebago derivation, and means "the place where we shave;" as when he and another trader first came into the country, they left their razors at the lake, and would travel around among the Indians trading for furs; but when they wanted to shave, they returned to their headquarters at the lake. The Pottawattamies had a village on the east side, and their name signified "the lake we live on."

Emerald Grove was named by Dr. James Heath. Mount Zion was first so called by James Wood and Erastus Cod-

dington. Johnstown derived its name from John A. Fletcher; Prairie du Lac, from the small lakes on the northeast side of the prairie; but our letters being frequently miscarried to Prairie du Sac, or, as we generally called it, Sauk Prairie, northwest of the Wisconsin river, in order to remedy that annoyance we met and named the town Milton. Otter Creek took its name from the number of otter slides along its banks at the time of surveying.

A claim was made where I now reside on the 4th of March, 1837, the day Martin Van Buren was to have taken the Presidential chair. It came on Sunday, so he put it off one day; but we did not, but came twelve miles in a sleigh, and marked our claim.

MILTON, November, 1855.

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Early Reminiscences of Janesville

By Henry F. Janes

I was born on the 12th of February, 1804, in Pendleton county, Virginia, on Straight Creek, one of the extreme head branches of the South Branch of the Potomac. In 1819 my father moved to Ohio, and settled on the Scioto shore, at Chillicothe, where I remained till the 15th day of April, 1825, when I left the parental roof, on an old one-eyed horse, with two shirts and four dollars in my pocket, all told.

At about the end of a week, I reached the vicinity of where La Fayette, Indiana, now stands. At that time La Fayette had no existence, except in name. There I married my wife, on the 15th day of March, 1827. I remained in that county till September, 1832, when I moved with my wife and two children. to Laporte county, Indiana. I remained there till April, 1835, when I moved to Wisconsin with my family, and settled in Racine county, six miles due west from the city of Racine. The February previous, I went to Wisconsin to select a location, and found but one white family in Racine county, being that of a Mr. Beardsley.* There was not a house, nor any sign of civilization between Grove Point, twelve miles north of Chicago, and Skunk Grove, now Mount Pleasant, in Racine county. We were at home wherever night overtook us; our fare was rather hard, but the bills were not high at that time.

Capt. Gilbert Knapp had some men at work in Racine, and I think he had a log cabin built, or partly built, at the time I first saw the place where the city now stands. I selected a situation for a farm on a branch of a stream, to

* Elam Beardsley settled in Caledonia, Racine county, in January, 1835. L. C. D.

which I gave the name of Hoosier creek; and so far as I know, it retains the name yet. I landed on my claim with my family about the first of May, and went to work in good earnest. On the first day of August, 1835, my son, J. W. Janes, was born, and was the first white child born in Racine county; he is now grown, and is a hale and active young man.

At that time there were no surveys of the land by the United States surveyors, and we all had to run the risk of the lines cutting us to advantage or disadvantage. Some time that fall the lines were run—that is, the town and range lines, and I ascertained that all my claim and improvements were on the 16th or school section. This caused me to look around for a new location. By this time most of the choice claims were taken, or supposed to be taken; and I concluded to make a trip to Rock river, and started late in October in company with Levi Harness, a young man that I took to the country with me. We had little or no knowledge of the country, and started on foot as adventurers.

We reached Prairie Village,* on Fox river, the first day; and there learned that a company† had gone out from Milwaukee but a short time before, and were still not far ahead; so we pushed on in good spirits, and camped between Mukwonago and where Troy now stands. Having been misinformed about the distance to Rock river at Prairie Village we supposed that we were not more than ten miles from the river. We started with light hearts as soon as we could see the Indian trail (for there were no other roads in the country at that time), one carrying our bed, consisting of a buffalo skin and blanket, and the other the gun, and knapsack with our grub. We eat no breakfast, expecting to be at the camp of our predecessors in two or three hours at the most. We had not got out of sight

* Since Waukesha.

† Instead of late in October, it was probably in November, when Mr. Janes started on this trip; for the company referred to, who had just before passed from Milwaukee, consisted of John Inman, John Holmes, Thomas Holmes, William Holmes, George Folmer and Milo Jones, started from Milwaukee November 15th, 1835 with an ox team and wagon, with provisions and farming tools; and on the 18th of the same month, arrived at what was subsequently known as the town of Rock, at a point on Rock river opposite the "Big Rock;" where they camped in their wagon until they built a log cabin. This was the first settlement in Rock county. See Guernsey's *History of Rock County*, pages 30 and 144; while on page 156, October is given as the time of this migration. L. C. D.

of our camp fire, when it commenced raining, and by the time we arrived at the place where Troy now stands, every thing, including ourselves, was completely thatched over with sleet. In this condition we trudged on, expecting, on seeing each hill, that we would be sure to see the camp of our friends, but we were doomed to disappointment.

At length, cold, wet, and fatigued, we reached the Rock Prairie, and seeing the trail struck into it, we concluded to camp having eaten nothing all day. We tried to strike fire and found that all our fire apparatus, like ourselves, was wet; even the powder in the horn would not ignite. In this dilemma we concluded to make one more effort to find the camp or river. Accordingly we started on the trail, and took a kind of dog trot, and kept it up till it got so dark that we lost the trail, and finally my man declared that he could go no farther. I got him on his feet, and told him we must get to the brush for shelter, or we would perish with cold and hunger. We then took the wind for our guide, and after some time reached the brush, where we sat down on the wet ground, and spread our blanket and buffalo skin over us. In this way I spent the first night I ever spent in Rock county. Our camp, if such it may be termed, was some eight or ten miles east of Janesville, and near where D. A. Richardson lived when I left the city. The next morning found us in a bad fix—cold and wet—the ground frozen hard enough to bear a horse, and snowing beautifully. After holding a council, we concluded to retrace our steps to Root river. We started, and in the afternoon reached Turtle lake, where after some three hours hard work, we succeeded in getting a fire and dried ourselves, and camped for the night.

We reached home without accomplishing our object, and remained till some time in December of the same year. I started again in company with a Mr. Glen from Racine, and a man by the name of J. C. Capp.* This time I took a horse, and we got through without any accident worth noting, and found Samuel St. John† and W. A. Holmes, living in

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* Perhaps Knapp.

† Mr. St. John migrated from Vermont with his wife and three children, and became the first resident of what became Janesville, in Nov., 1835. Mrs. St.

a log cabin on Rock river, one mile below Janesville. The ground was covered with snow some inches deep, and we could get nothing for our horses to eat; we therefore left them here, and explored the country on foot up to Fort Atkinson and around Lake Koshkonong, and concluded to purchase the land at the outlet of the lake on the west side of the river, and marked out claims on the east side with a view of settling there. We accordingly returned, and in a few days I started in company with Alfred Cary, of Racine, for Green Bay. At that time there was not a house between Call's Grove and Rock river, and but one between Milwaukee and Green Bay, and that was Farnsworth's mill, on the Sheboygan river.

On the first day out from Milwaukee, we were overtaken by a young man of the name of Roark, who informed us that Doct. B. B. Cary had been shot the night previous, and wanted his brother to return. He accordingly returned, and Roark and myself went on. In four or five days we reached our destination without any accident worth relating. We had plenty of snow to make a soft bed to sleep in, and wolves enough to howl us to sleep at all times of night.

We found the members of the first Legislature of Wisconsin, or the last Territorial Legislature of Michigan, at Green Bay waiting for Gov. Horner to put them in motion; but that dignitary was among the missing, and the whole matter ended in smoke. I found on examining the books at the town office, that all the land we had selected was sold, and I had my trip for my pay. So after looking at the town of Navarino, Fort Howard, and the sights we thought worth seeing, we laid in a stock of crackers, cheese, ham and tobacco, not forgetting some of the "critter," made our adieu to Green Bay, and in due time landed safe at home. Having made two trips to Rock river, and one to Green Bay, for nothing, and thinking perhaps the third one the charm; so I accordingly started

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John was the first to find a grave in the new settlement, in June, 1836, caused by a decline of some months' continuance, induced by the want of medical attendance the previous winter, and the shelter and care so necessary to the mother of an infant babe. Her grave is marked by a tombstone upon an eminence near the road leading to Beloit. Mr. St. John survived her several years, and died while on a visit to his brother's near town, and his remains were deposited on the eminence beside those of his wife. L. C. D.

the third time for Rock river in company with John Janes, a cousin of mine, who now lives in Bad Axe county, Wisconsin, and crossed Rock river somewhere near where Rochester now stands, and continued on and explored the country north of Janesville, to near the mouth of Whitewater; then turned down to St. John's and replenished our provisions; then explored the west side of Rock river up to the mouth of the Catfish, and up that to or near the First Lake; we then directed our course for Camp & Collins' Diggings, on Sugar creek, and made Mitchell's Grove in our route. We were some days traveling and exploring, and having run out of provisions, we concluded to repair to Camp & Collins' Diggings for supplies. Just at night we found the section, and quarter section, that we were informed they were on; but they were not there.

It had become dark, and very cold, and we were tired and hungry; so we concluded to make to some timber and build up a fire, and do the best we could. After we reached the timber, and commenced dragging some limbs out of the snow, we saw a spark of fire rise, and after some circles in the air disappear. Soon after we saw others ascend in the same manner, and concluded it was Indians, and that we would go and camp with them, rather than build a fire and lie in the snow all night, hungry and tired as we were. But judge of our surprise on reaching the place, to find it occupied by a white man, Michael Welch, who received us with all the hospitality with which a Wisconsin miner could receive a stranger; and any attempt on my part to describe that, would be but a failure to do justice to that noble hearted class of the citizens of Wisconsin. We were now snugly ensconced in a warm cabin, by a roaring fire, and soon had a stool placed between us, on which was a pyramid of potatoes, and a dish of pork swimming in a miniature lake of gravy, and each a tin cup of coffee. Ye upper tens! How does your nonsense sink into utter insignificance when contrasted with the pure, genuine hospitality of the frontier adventurer. Nearly twenty years have passed since the time of which I am now speaking, I do not

know whether Mr. Welch is yet alive or not; but whenever I think of his kindness, it makes my heart throb with grateful pleasure.

We then went over to where New Mexico was afterward laid out, explored there two or three days, and then to Hamilton's Diggings, and finally back again to Rock river. I then selected the claim that Janesville is built on, and marked it as my claim, on the 15th day of February, 1836. In my letter to the Janesville *Gazette,* I gave the time as the 15th of January through mistake; February is the correct time. By this time I had become snow blind, and had to lay by some ten days before I could see to travel. My friend went to work for Mr. St. John, and as soon as I could see to travel, I started for home. I took the line at the south end of Janesville and followed clear through to Call's Grove,* without seeing the face of a human being, or any trace of one, except the marks of the surveyors that had run the line that I was following.

Previous to leaving Rock river, I employed Mr. St. John to put me up a cabin, and on the 19th day of May, 1836, about four o'clock in the afternoon, I threaded my way to my cabin along an Indian trail that passed up the river through the present city of Janesville. My family now made about the fourth family in the county. It may, and doubtless will, appear rather strange to some of the citizens of Janesville, that nineteen years and a half ago the whole city consisted of one family, and one log cabin, eighteen feet square, with the bark on the logs, and no floor in it, or shutter to the door-way. I had this time not the least idea of ever building up a town; but in moving to Janesville I opened a track, and all the travel followed that route to Rock river. At that time, Wisconsin City, Rockport, and I know not how many more paper towns, were in existence along Rock river.

Sometime in the fall of 1836, I went to Camp & Collins' mines, and purchased two wagon loads of lead, and that completed a communication from Racine to the lead mines by my house, and there was a constant throng of travel on it, and no

* Since changed to Ives' Grove.

L. C. D.

way to cross the river only to swim the horses alongside of a canoe, and cross wagons in the same way. The traveling community were constantly besetting me to build a ferry-boat, and I at length concluded to do so; and built one at no small expense. After I got it done, I went to Belmont while the Legislature was in session, to get a charter; and not dreaming of any opposition, I took no pains to get a petition largely signed; and the proprietors of Rockport, Wisconsin City, and Humes' Ferry, united in a remonstrance. This then begun a war between the three points. I, by this time, concluded to lay out a town, and accordingly did so. The next summer two of the other places found it was "no go" with them, and they compromised as far as Janesville was concerned, and dropped their towns, and took up a place they called St. George's Rapids, about half way between the other towns, and made common cause against me in general, and Janesville in particular. I attended the Legislature at Burlington, Iowa, and at Madison, for some three or four years, got all the roads, mail routes, and all the legislation I asked for. But in getting the county seat located at Janesville, the county took a pre-emption on that, and swept it from under me.* And having expended all my means in trying to build up the place, and all my improvements with it, to use a California phrase, I was completely strapped, and on the 24th day of August, 1839, I left the town to its fate. On the 15th day of May, 1838, my son Jasper was born in Janesville, the first male child born in the place.†

After leaving Janesville, I had been drifting around till '49 found me in this land of gold and big potatoes. The ladies of Janesville would probably think it strange to hear that in July, 1836, my wife and four small children were the only in-

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* It may be seen in Guernsey's *History of Rock County* that the county seat was established upon Mr. Janes' location; and that much praise was awarded to him for his diplomatic tact in overcoming the obstacles which other local interests had cast in his way.

By a law of Congress the county could secure a pre-emption to the quarter section upon which the county seat would be located. Mr. Janes was ignorant of this, and found himself a tenant upon lands belonging to the county. A compromise was effected by which the county, for a nominal sum, agreed to deed back portions of the land to the original claimants and settlers. L. C. D.

† It is stated by the Rev. H. Foote, in Guernsey's *Hist. of Rock County*, that in Jan., 1836, there was an infant son added to the family of Samuel St. John, who is supposed to be the first white child born in the Upper Rock River Valley. His name was Seth B. St. John, and he was living a few years since at Columbus, in this State. L. C. D.

habitants of Janesville for twenty-one days at one time. Such is the fact; for I, with all the men that were about me, went up to where Jefferson is situated for a raft of rails, expecting to return in a few days, but the river had got too low, and we were detained in consequence, and were gone twenty-one days. Mrs. Janes and her children remaining alone, and the Indians were scarcely ever out of sight or hearing.

This, dear sir, comprises, as nearly as my scanty means of collecting material will allow, the incidents relating to the first settlement of Janesville. I had first given it the name of Black Hawk, it having been one of the old warrior's camping grounds, and sent up a petition to the Post Office Department for a post-office of that name, and recommended myself as postmaster. Amos Kendall, at that time Postmaster General, refused to establish an office by that name, as there was one already bearing that name in what is now Iowa, but then a part of Wisconsin Territory, and gave the name of Janesville to the post office.*

Thus far, Mr. Janes' communication to our Historical Society, from Uniontown, Humboldt Bay, California, Nov. 2d, 1855. From two letters he wrote to the Janesville *Gazette*, one dated April 17th, 1855, and the other Nov. 10th, of the same year, we make the following extracts:

"As old Dr. Jayne, of Philadelphia, of quack medicine notoriety, has claimed that Janesville was named for him, I appeal to A. T. Walker, G. H. Williston, D. Smiley, Charles Stevens, Gen. Sheldon and others who were in Rock county at an early day. On the 15th day of January, 1836,† I cut the initials of my name on a black jack on the city plat, and called it my claim. At that time Samuel St. John was the only resident of the city. When I left Janesville, the stump of the old black jack was standing in the street between the house built for myself and

* On the 23d of April, 1837, the first mail arrived in Janesville—bringing one letter only, and that for Mr. Janes. But it was the harbinger of future communications from distant friends. Postmaster Janes fastened a *cigar box* upon a log in his bar, and in that for several months was deposited all the mail matter for Rock county. L. C. D.

† Mr. Janes has corrected this error, giving Feb. 15th as the true date. L. C. D.

Charles Stevens and the river, on the north side of the street. Please respect it on my account, as it was awful cold when I made the claim.*

"Since that time I have been constantly working westward till the nasty Pacific has made a stop to farther progress in that direction. In the fall of '49 I reached the Pacific, and yet the sun sets west of me, and my wife positively refuses to go to the Sandwich Islands, and the bark is starting off my rails, and that is longer than I ever allowed myself to remain on one farm; so I am at loss how to act in the present dilemma.

"At the annual election in the fall of '36, the whole number of votes cast in the county, or what is now Rock county, was 32, all told. Of these, Gilbert Knapp received 32 for the Council; Alonzo Sweet, Wm. Lee and — Reed had about an equal number each for the same office, two to be elected; Charles Durkee, Gen. Sheldon and Dr. Cornwall got the votes for the Assembly. I am satisfied that at that time the entire population of Rock county would not have reached 100 inhabitants. The first election was held at the house of Samuel St. John, about one mile below Janesville, or below where Janesville was in August, 1839.

"Judge Whiton beat me for the Legislature, not on political, but on local grounds. At that time, in '36 or '37, Janesville was the Sebastopol, and Beloit, Wisconsin City, St. George's Rapids, Rockport and Hume's Ferry were the "allied powers" that besieged it. I was put in nomination by the Janesville party; and, after two or three caucuses, the "allies" selected Judge Whiton, knowing that he "blew hot and cold," and would carry some of the Janesville votes, and all the combined opposition. They took him on the principle of availability and elected him.

"I am told that I would be lost in amazement if I were to visit the city at this time. No doubt such would be the fact, as I was truly monarch of all I surveyed, from the bank of the river to the bluff, and up and down as far as the bends in the river would permit. There was not a mark of cultivation to be seen where I first marked out my location where now stands the city of Janesville.

* The old stump referred to was on the bank of the river for a long time, but the hand of improvement long since demolished it, and a stately edifice was erected on the spot in 1855. L. C. D.

"Some of your readers would probably think it strange that twenty years have scarcely gone by since the entire population of Janesville consisted of one family—myself, wife and four children, and the only improvements were one log cabin, eighteen feet square, without door, shutter or window, and no floor but mother earth; and, instead of paved sidewalks and graded streets, there was an Indian trail which wound its serpentine course through what is now probably the heart of the city, and all the land on the flat and the sides of the bluffs, back from the river, were covered with scrub oak timber, and instead of the whistle of the railroad cars, or the hum and bustle of the thousands that daily throng your streets, we had the croaking of the kiota, or the midnight yell of the drunken Indian. At that time there were no houses, farms or improvements as far as the eye could reach, and traders took their course and traveled where it suited their purpose, and were at home where and when night overtook them. Twenty years ago I owned the only grindstone in Rock county, and people came from the remote parts of the county to grind their axes, shares, etc. I have never been able to learn where you built your court-house. I had selected a block to put it on, on top of the hill back of where Harvey Story's blacksmith shop stood when I left Janesville.

"If any of the wauhoos of Janesville who have not had the good or bad fortune to be acquainted with me, desire more information, I can inform them that I am now in my fifty-second year, weigh 210 pounds, stand 6 feet and 2 inches in my socks, and have rambled with my family over more of the western country, and to less purpose, than any other man in it.

"Should any of my old cronies wish to know how I am doing in California, I can only say that I am doing well, am well pleased with the country, and am in the enjoyment of excellent health."

Sketch of Charles M. Baker

By Lyman C. Draper

As an appropriate preliminary to Judge Baker's excellent paper on the *Pioneer History of Walworth County*, a personal sketch of the author is submitted.

Charles M. Baker was the son of James Baker, and Elizabeth Price, both natives of Morristown, New Jersey, born there amid the exciting scenes of the Revolution. Their son, the subject of this notice, was born in New York City, October 18th, 1804. His father was a master-builder but owing to failing health he removed, in 1805, from New York to Addison county, Vermont, and engaged in the occupation of farming.

Until he had attained the age of twelve years, Charles M. Baker, alternated his time in attending the neighborhood school, and working upon the farm. He early cherished an ardent thirst for knowledge, and every spare moment was devoted to a preparation for college. In August, 1822, he entered Middlebury College; but the anxiety and severe study attendant upon his successful entrance, brought on dyspepsia of so severe a character, that he was forced to abandon college life in June of the following year.

In order to regain his health, he started on a pedestrian tour through Northern New York to Montreal, remaining there until in the autumn, when he went to Philadelphia, and procured employment as an assistant under Rev. Wm. Ashton, in a school for young ladies in that city. For two years, with improved health and enlarged literary culture, he remained in this institution. Returning in 1826, to Vermont, and shortly after going to Troy, N. Y., he commenced at the age of twenty-two, the study

of the law in the office, and under the instructions, of Judge S. G. Huntington, and remained thus employed for three years, at the expiration of which he was admitted to the bar, and shortly after formed a co-partnership with Henry W. Strong, brother of the late Hon. Marshall M. Strong, of Racine.

In September, 1829, he was united in marriage to Miss Martha W. Larrabee, daughter of John S. Larrabee, of Larrabee Point, Shoreham, Vermont; and removed the following spring to Seneca Falls, N. Y., where he continued the practice of his profession until 1834, with much pecuniary success, but at the expense of his health. His old dyspeptic troubles returned with such increased violence, that he was constrained to retire from the practice of the law, sell out his library, and with his wife and two children returned to Vermont, with the conviction that he could not long survive.

But change of air and occupation resulted in improved health so that he was encouraged to engage in trade, in which he continued until the financial crash of 1837–38; when selling out his mercantile stock, he resolved on migrating to the West. He accordingly set out on the 10th of September, 1838, for Janesville, Wisconsin. Finding most of the land either entered or claimed near Janesville, he spent several weeks in roaming over the prairies of Southern Wisconsin; and at length, quite late in the fall of that year, made a location on the south side of Geneva Lake, Walworth county, a portion of the farm now owned by Gen. John W. Boyd.

For the next thirty-three years we find Mr. Baker faithfully engaged in every good word and work, in serving to foster religion, education, temperance and morals; in laying the foundations of society in town, county, Territory and State; and in every situation in life, proving himself adequate to the demands made upon him. He held many places of public trust in his town and county, and in the councils of the State. He was chosen a member of the Territorial Council in 1842, and served in that capacity until the close of the session of 1846; and was a member of the First Constitutional Convention that met in October of the latter year. He was one of the three Commissioners appointed to collate and revise all the public acts of the State of a general and permanent nature, in 1848; and largely aided in their codification, and su-

perintended the printing of the volume of over one thousand pages, at Albany, N. Y., in the fall of 1849.

In 1856, he served a few months, by Executive appointment, as Circuit Judge in his judicial district, declining to be a candidate for that office before the people. During the war he was a Commissioner under Provost Marshal Bean, in the first district. Few men ever performed the duties and responsibilities of office with the same fidelity and conscientiousness as Judge Baker.

His prominent traits of character are truthfully portrayed by Hon. William P. Lyon, in a paper read before the Walworth County Old Settlers' Association, of which Judge Baker was the President, up to the time of his death by apoplexy, at his residence at Geneva, Walworth county, February 5th, 1872, in the sixty-eighth year of his age:

"I knew Judge Baker well," says Judge Lyon, "for thirty years. Nearly twenty-seven years ago, I was a student in his office, and from that time until his death, my relations with him were most friendly and pleasant. He was not only my preceptor, but my trusted adviser and friend during the most trying period, the first years of my professional life. I was admitted to the bar of the district court for Walworth county in 1846, on his motion, and he was the chairman of the committee by whom I was examined preparatory to such admission. The encouragement—the kind assistance, which he so often extended to me in my earlier attempts to practice my chosen profession, were invaluable to me, and I have always felt, and always shall feel, the most profound gratitude therefor. I think one of the proudest moments of my life was when, many years ago, at his request, I was retained as counsel with him in an important cause. Of course he did not need my poor help, but he knew how valuable to me—how grateful to my feelings—that delicate proof of his interest in me would be.

"The talents of Judge Baker, as a lawyer, were of a very high order. He possessed a clear, logical mind, was extremely cautious and discreet, very industrious, and entirely honest and true. He was also well read in the elementary learning of our profession. The man who has these qualities and acquirements, whether he practices law or not, is a first-class lawyer; and Judge Baker possessed them all in an eminent degree.

"He did not pursue the profession constantly. Ill health, and other causes, occasionally led him to abandon it temporarily; and when in practice, he seemed to shrink from litigated business, choosing rather to avoid those fierce and stormy forensic contests in which so many lawyers delight, and where so many laurels are won. So when engaged in practice, he rather chose the branches of professional business, which, while they required equal ability and learning, relieved him from the turmoils, the animosities, the enmities, which frequently result from litigation, and involve attorneys as well as clients. That he could have taken the highest honors in his profession, none who knew him will doubt. He did not seem to desire them. His modesty, his want of self-appreciation, was excessive.

"He acceptably filled high public positions in the Territory and State, and was admirably qualified for usefulness in public life, yet he could seldom be induced to accept any prominent public position. After the resignation of Judge Doolittle, in 1856, he accepted the Executive appointment of Judge of the first circuit, which was to continue only a few months, but he could not be induced to become a candidate for election to the same position. Knowing him as I did, I believe that the principal reason for this, was his distrust of his ability for the place. And yet, I hesitate not to say, that there was no man in the circuit better qualified in every respect for that position, than was Judge Baker. He would have honored and adorned the bench by his learning, his ability, his honesty, his caution, his firmness, and his amiability of character, as he did every other public position in which he was placed during his life.

"Judge Baker was a man of enlarged public spirit. The community in which he lived will bear affectionate testimony to his long, faithful, and earnest efforts in their behalf in every good work. The religious, moral and material interests of the people among whom he lived, were always near his heart, and the promotion of these were ever the most cherished objects of his life.

"His high character for personal and professional integrity was always fully appreciated. No man can truthfully say of him, that he ever knowingly failed to fulfill all of the obligations of his profession. He loved peace, he loved justice, and was un-

tiring in his efforts to secure the one, and to vindicate the other. The knowledge that he possessed these exalted qualities of mind and heart, made him the chosen, trusted adviser and friend of hundreds of his fellow citizens.

"But his ability and fidelity as a lawyer, and his value as a public officer, are not the characteristics of Judge Baker which are most prominent in our thoughts to-day. We love rather to think and speak of his purity of life, his kindness and benevolence of heart, his amiable, trusting spirit, his modesty, his fidelity to duty. These were the exalted qualities which made his life so beautiful, and which so endeared him to us all.

"Judge Baker was remarkably free from distrust or suspicion of others. It was hard for him to believe that all were not as free from guile or deceit as he himself was. This charitable disposition may have caused, and probably did sometimes cause him, to bestow his confidence where it would have been wiser to have withheld it. Yet, it were better to err in that, than in the opposite direction. In him the sorrowing ever found a kind and sympathetic friend, and the needy, a cheerful helper. His life abounded in kind offices, and noble, generous actions. Seldom is it our good fortune to know a man whose whole life was so pure and spotless; seldom do we know one for whom all that knew him cherish a deeper affection."

His wife dying, he married, July 1st, 1844, Miss Eliza Holt, who survives him. By his first marriage he reared three sons and a daughter, all of whom are well settled in life, and most worthy members of society.

After having lived a long and well-spent life of unblemished integrity and unselfish devotion to the public good, Charles M. Baker, one of the purest and best of Christian men, sank into his grave,

"Full of honors and full of years."

Pioneer History of Walworth County*

By Charles M. Baker

Old Friends—Permit me to call you old in years as well as in associations, for a whole generation of men have been swept from the earth since most of us here first pitched our tents for our final earthly home. One-third of a century, almost, have we held intercourse—not only in the ordinary duties of life, but also in those pertaining to citizenship, in organizing and sustaining civil Government. We have together shared common privations, common hopes and joys, and it is meet now, in the autumn of our lives, that we should come up, as we have this day, from all parts of our goodly county, to look again upon each others' faces, and take each other by the hand, and here together from this central outlook, review the last thirty years, or more, as they move past in solemn march with all their pleasant, all their sad memories.

There are no more enduring ties than those formed by companions in dangers, hardships and privations, and they are as unselfish as enduring. Travelers who have together crossed arid plains, penetrated gloomy forests, forded rivers and scaled mountains, exposed to innumerable dangers; soldiers who have long shared the same tent, endured together the toils of weary marches, have stood sentinel in the same bivouac, and fought shoulder to shoulder in the same battles, form attachments as enduring as life. And so is it with those who together, in a new country, have taken upon them the burden of subduing nature to the uses of man, and planting and watering the seeds of human society.

Man, as we now find him—by nature, or necessity—is a migratory being, and it would seem to us hardly necessary

* Address delivered before Walworth County Old Settlers' Society, October 5, 1869. Appearing in the *Walworth County Independent*, of October 20th and 27th, 1869. it was subsequently revised by Judge Baker, re-arranged, and the corrected copy furnished by him to the Wisconsin Historical Society. L. C. D.

that there should have been a dispersion on the plain of Shinar by miraculous intervention, to induce emigration. However this may have been, we would rather regard the miracle of the confounding of language at Babel, as God's method to frustrate man's design on that occasion, which aimed to thwart His will that men should migrate; that they should be scattered abroad upon the face of all the earth to subdue and replenish it, and that those speaking the same language should form separate communities and natures.

The main currents of migration of the race known to us, starting from Armenia, or the plains of Central Asia, for we read of the immediate descendants of Noah that "it came to pass as they journied *from* the *east*," have generally been westward, with incidental defections north and south, or occasional irruptions of the north on the south, for purposes of conquest. And this westward tendency of the race has been more especially prominent in modern times, so much so, that the poet has truly said, "westward the star of empire takes its way." So far as the United States are concerned, it seems as if they were made by the Great Architect expressly with the view of inducing this westward flow of migration. Suppose the soil of the Mississippi Valley spread out in one broad plain, had bordered upon the Atlantic, and the mountains and sterility of New England and the Middle States had occupied what is now the Valley of the Mississippi, should we have had that race of hardy, heroic and pure men who fought the battles of the Revolution, and laid the foundations of this Government? And how few, in that case, would then from thence have emigrated here? Suppose the mines of California and our Great West had been placed in the Mississippi Valley, who then would ever from thence have crossed our great American deserts and the Rocky and Nevada mountains to settle the Pacific coast? It would seem that not without design by Him, who of old wrought miracles for the dispersion of the race, that the Mississippi Valley was spread out a thousand miles west of the Atlantic, and the treasures of our Western States were hid-

den in and beyond the Rocky Mountains, more than another thousand miles toward the Pacific. These marked features of our country have had a remarkable and controlling influence in causing its unparalleled settlement and improvement.

We have said that man is a migratory being, and we may add, especially the American type. In hopes of improving his condition and those dependent on him, what journeys will he not undertake, what privations will he not endure. Indeed, I have sometimes thought the Anglo-American often sought them from a more romantic impulse, or as a source of pleasure. But the chief inducements to most of mankind to emigrate, has been to better their physical condition, or for the enjoyment of liberty. The latter, thanks to our forefathers, we inherited from them, and thanks to the grand army of the Republic, under God, we shall continue to enjoy. The former, most of us came to this country to seek; and I rejoice with you, my friends, to-day, that so many of you have found it.

I am not unmindful, my friends, we have met to-day for other purposes than to listen to a set speech, however interesting the topic. We have come up here from our farms, our work-shops, our counters and offices, laying aside care, to have a social talk over the olden time—its scenes, its incidents familiar to us all, to renew old friendships, and have our flagging pulses quickened by kind greetings from friends, perchance, our eyes moistened and our hearts softened by the remembrance of those absent ones, who though they bravely entered with us into this battle of life, have fallen by the way, and gone to their rest.

In the statements I shall make respecting the early settlement of this county, particularly in names of first settlers, and the times they came in, there is, I am aware, much imperfection, and perhaps some errors, but I give them as I have received them, principally from old residents in different parts of the county, to whom I would here and now express my obligations for their aid.

I have not attempted to give the names of all the first set-

tlers, nor the precise order of time they came in, because it was impossible in the short period allotted me for preparation, to do so.

The attention of the people of the United States was first drawn to this portion of the Union by the Black Hawk War, the principal incidents of which lay within the present limits of this State. The march of our army in pursuit of the Indians as they fled north-west to the Bad Axe and Mississippi rivers, opened up to our citizen soldiery, the fertility and beauties of our State, which soon became known throughout the Union. The eyes of emigrants were quickly drawn hither, and explorations made, and the attention of the General Government was aroused, so that they authorized the survey of the southern portion of the State, and on the 20th of April, 1836, Congress organized the Territory of Wisconsin from the State of Michigan, embracing within it, not only its present territory, but also the present States of Iowa, Minnesota, and parts of Nebraska and Dacotah.

The only county then existing in this part of Wisconsin was Milwaukee. From that county, Racine, embracing Walworth, was set off at the first, or Belmont session of our Territorial Legislature, begun in October, 1836. Walworth county was organized out of Racine county at the second session of our Legislature, held at Burlington, now in Iowa, in January, 1839, and was named for Chancellor Reuben H. Walworth, of New York. This act was amended in December next following, at the third session of our Legislature, and the first that was held at Madison, and the seat of justice was permanently established at Elkhorn. This location of the seat of justice for the county was based, as I understand it, upon a prior vote of the citizens of the county in its favor. I also understand that the quarter section upon which the Court House is situated, was pre-empted, or selected for pre-emption, in the summer of 1838, by Christopher Douglas, William Bowman and Caleb Miller, Commissioners appointed under a law of Congress of 1824, authorizing pre-emptions of the

public lands to the amount of a quarter section for county seats of justice. This quarter section was, in the fall of 1838, a fine oak opening, with no improvements upon it whatever, free from undergrowth except tall grass, and with every tree untouched by the axe. So it appeared to the speaker, as with Hollis Latham, he flushed a flock of prairie hens on the 19th of October, 1838, near the centre post of the county.

Walworth and Rock counties composed one election district up to February 24th, 1845, when they were separated. Col. Jas. Maxwell, then of Big Foot Prairie, was the first member of the Council for the two counties, and Gen. Wm. B. Sheldon, of Janesville, the first member of the House. Othni Beardsley, of Troy, was the first member of the House from this county, for the joint district, and was elected in the summer or fall of 1838.* The first member of the Council from this county, after its separation from Rock, in 1845, was, if I am not mistaken, Jesse C. Mills. And the first members of the House were Caleb Croswell, Warner Earl and Gaylord Graves.

The first land sale for the Milwaukee land district, of which this county formed a part, was appointed for November 16th, 1838, but at the earnest request of the settlers, who desired longer time to raise funds to purchase, it was postponed until February, 1839, when it took place.

As near as I have been able to ascertain, Walworth county was surveyed in 1835, and the spring of 1836, the running of the section lines being completed at the latter period by John Brink and John Hodgson, the surveyors under the Government contractor, one Millett, of Detroit. The first election of county officers was held in 1838. The first county officers elected and appointed were, for commissioners—Benj. Ball, Nathaniel Bell and Wm. Bowman. They organized the board at the house of Daniel E. Bradley, Elkhorn, on the 7th of January, 1839, and appointed Volney A. McCracken, Clerk. Gen. S. Walling was elected Sheriff, LeGrand Rockwell, Register of Deeds, and he was also appointed Clerk of the

* He was re-elected in 1839 and 1840. L. C. D.

District Court. Joseph Griffin was appointed Judge of Probate, and C. M. Baker District Attorney, in the winter of 1838 and 1839. Wm. Hollinshead was elected County Treasurer, Edward Norris, Surveyor, and Hollis Latham, Coroner, all at the first election.

The first District Court was held by Hon. David Irvin, Judge, in April, 1839, in a small frame building erected that spring by LeGrand Rockwell for a register's and clerk's office. I believe it is still in existence, though removed from its original site near the northern limit of the public square in Elkhorn. The courts were held here a number of terms. They were next held for some time in a small frame school house situated near the western boundary of the public square. The old log jail was built soon after, and stood an unsightly monument of the olden time, till within a recent period, the terror of no one, except perhaps, unruly boys. The present court house was built in 1841–42 by Levi Lee, the contractor, and the first term of court held in it, in April, 1843.

In these mementoes of the early history of our county, Judge Irvin, our first United States District Judge, is deserving a passing notice. He was a Virginia gentleman, of the old school. Social, kind-hearted, aristocratic, as became a Virginian of the F. F's, he was a bachelor with his whims and peculiarities. He was a great lover of hunting, particularly of prairie hens, in the shooting of which he was an expert, and in which he prided himself, and no one must excel him if he would keep in his good graces. He was also learned in the knowledge of horses and dogs, as well as in the law, and his own horse, Pedro; and his dog, York, to whom he was much attached, and whose superior blood often formed the theme of his conversation, were as well known to the bar as the Judge himself. They were necessary appendages of the Judge and the court, and it was said by the wags, if one wanted to win his case before the Judge, he must praise his dog and his horse.

But of truth it can be said of him, he was a lover of justice,

detested meanness, was well grounded in the principles of the law, and was possessed of very respectable perceptive and reasoning powers. He seldom consulted law books, with which the bar of those days was poorly supplied, but on the whole, for the times, was a fair and respectable Judge. He suffered much from neuralgia in the back, and on that account had his judicial bench constructed in the form of a lounge, with one end raised, into which were fastened iron clamps to sustain an upright board slanting back a little against which he could recline whilst trying cases. Permit me to say that this ancient seat of justice is in existence, in my office, confessed by me here publicly, to be the property of the county, and I think they could do no more worthy act than to donate it to our Old Settler's Society of Walworth county.

I will now, my friends, with your permission, if you can endure the dry detail, give you the date of settlement of each town in the county, with the names of some of the first settlers, and the times they came in, in consecutive order of ranges and towns, beginning with Sharon. And I would here say, by way of explanation, that the statements in regard to many of the towns are very meager, not from lack of a desire on my part to do them ample justice, but because the reports sent me from those towns were so defective. To commence then with

Sharon.—The first settler in this town was John Reeder. He came in 1836 or '37, and did the first breaking in the town. Soon after, and between that time and 1841, there came into the town, among others, D. J. Best, Geo. Hunter, H. Smith Young, Josiah Topping, J. O'Connor, Wm. Van Wormer and others. The lands in Sharon are excellent, which invited emigration, and it is now one of the most respectable and wealthy farming towns in the county.

Darien.—John Bruce settled in the town of Darien, in 1837, and was probably the first actual settler. John Lippett came at or about the same time. Salmon and T. J.

Thomas had a log house built on their claim in this town, in the fall of 1836, but did not move into it until June, '37. Daniel Salisbury also put up a house for L. Jones in the fall of 1836. A. D. Thomas, son of Salmon, was the first white child born in the town. In 1837 came N. Comstock, Amos Older, Benjamin Moore, C. C. Cheesebro and sons, and Elijah Belden, Loren and Lyman Jones, Hugh Long, Lyman and J. W. Seaver and Esquire Johnson came in 1837 and 1838.

Richmond.—Morris F. Hawes was the first settler in this town, and came August 1st, 1837. He claimed and settled on the south half of section one. Like most of the early settlers, he came in his own wagons, of which he had three and four yoke of oxen. The first meal of himself and family, in their new home, was spread on a board laid across some poles. Their family carriage was a wagon boarded up four and a half feet above the box, with a deck roof. In this they journeyed from Michigan, himself, wife and six children, and it was their only hotel on the way. They traveled at the rate of about twenty miles per day. They found a track as far as Geneva, after which their only guide was an Indian trail leading to Fort Atkinson. Their covered wagon served them for a house, till a ruder one—built of rough logs, covered with shakes fastened on with poles—was erected, and, into this—guiltless of a floor—they removed with their household goods. Such, in brief, is an outline of the experienc of most of the first settlers of this county. Soon after Mr. Hawes, and, in the same year, came B. and C. J. Utter; and Ira Sanborn, Joseph Compton, Cyrenus Wilcox and John Teetshorn, came in about 1838, and Andrew Whiney, Joseph and James Humphrey and Solomon Bishop in 1839.

Whitewater.—The first settler in Whitewater was Samuel Prince, who built a log house there in June, 1837. Wm. and Lander Birge came in July of the same year and built. Then came Norman and Freeman L. Pratt, also Deacon Williams, Chas. Hamilton, Dr. Edward Brewer and Ru-

fus Clark. Richard Hoppin and Thos. Newton came in '39. In this year Dr. Jas. Tripp built the grist mill in Whitewater village, on the claim which he had made in '37, about which time he first came to Troy, but afterwards removed to Whitewater. Among other settlers in '39 were Prosper Cravath, A. Kinney, Dr. Jos. A. Clarke, Seth M. Billings, Abram Hackett, Sidney S. Workman, Dr. Oliver C. Magoon, and Warner Earl, attorney. In October, 1839, the village of Whitewater was surveyed into thirty-five lots by P. Cravath, which important event was celebrated by the free potation of that ancient beverage, of Yankee origin, I think called, "black strap," composed of whisky and molasses. It is said of the surveyor, upon his own confession, or I should not dare to whisper it here, that the line of his tracks home that night was not as straight as the lines he ran that day by his compass. It is but justice to this leading village of our county to say, that after Dr. Tripp's death, his excellent and enterprising widow, who, I am happy to say, is still among us, caused a re-survey of the village to be made and platted on an enlarged scale, more suited to its promised growth.

And here let me remark respecting the site of this largest and most thrifty village of our county, that the speaker saw it in its native beauty and loveliness one bright October morning in the year '38, before a tree had been cut on its site, or a bridge built over its pure stream, the outlet of its adjacent lakes. The landscape was gently undulating, verdant with tall grass, and covered with a grove of burr oaks, resembling an orchard planted by nature. It was a most lovely scene, and is still fresh in my memory.

To digress a moment, permit me to say that here I first entered Walworth county on my way in search of a home from Janesville, my first resting place in the State, *via* Jefferson and Fort Atkinson, to the county seat of Walworth. After crossing the bluffs, following a slight trail, I came down upon Heart Prairie, and on through Sugar Creek Prairie, stopping for the night at a small log house owned by one Miller, on the bank

of that pretty sheet of water called Silver Lake. I was charmed with the beauty of the scenery beyond the power of words to express. And the old settlers will bear me witness, that for beauty and variety of landscape, for lovely prairies alternated by more lovely groves and openings, for clear and beautiful streams, with clearer and more beautiful lakes, frequent and abounding everywhere, for uniform fertility of the soil, and so little unproductive for general adaptation to all the pursuits of agriculture and production of crops in this climate, no other county in the State, no other perhaps in the Union, surpassed that of Walworth county in her virgin state.

But I must pass on to

Walworth.—This town was first settled by James Van Slyke, in the fall of 1836. He settled at Fontana, at the head of Geneva, then Big Foot lake. The Indian chief Big Foot's band of Pottawatamies were then living at that place and on Williams' Bay, on the north side of the lake. They cultivated some corn, and the hills where they had raised it were still visible as late as 1840. The stump of Big Foot's flag staff is still in existence, on an eminence near the head of the lake. These, with the exception of a few living at Spring Prairie, and perhaps Troy, were the only Indians in the county upon its first settlement, and they soon after removed, but frequently returned in small companies for the purpose of hunting and fishing, chiefly about Geneva and Duck lakes, for several years afterwards. A deep Indian trail, leading from Williams' Bay across Elkhorn and Spring prairies to Mukwonago, was for many years, and until broken by the plow, visible. Geneva Lake was then called by the French, *Gros Pied,* and by the natives, *Maunk Suck,* both terms meaning in our language, as I infer, Big Foot. Whether this name was given it from the form of the lake, or from the name of some Indian chief, or band of Indians, is, I believe, unknown at the present day. Certain it is, however, though the original name was uncouth, the lake, is in my estimation, the most beautiful sheet of water in the State.

In February, 1837, Van Slyke, with one Disbrow, went to Squaw Prairie, Illinois, after some hogs. It became intensely cold, so that they had to leave them four miles from home. It was with much difficulty Disbrow reached it. He had one foot badly frozen. There being no surgeon near, Mrs. Van Slyke amputated his toes with her scissors. All the hogs but two froze to death. These, it is supposed, were the first swine driven into the county. Sheep were not introduced till much later, precisely when I have not learned, but not till after the wolves, for whose scalps bounties were given, were mostly exterminated.

In the spring of 1837, Van Slyke broke 100 acres on the prairie, and soon after Collins Wadhams broke 500 acres there for five individuals, the furrows were two and one-half miles long. The first child born in the town was Clara A. Bell, July 8th, 1837. The first death was a child of Amos Bailey in 1837. The first school-house was built in 1839, and the first teacher was Mrs. Williams, wife of Moses Williams. The first law suit was before Israel Williams, Jr., in December, 1838, about a claim matter; attorneys, Gen. John Bullen, Sen., Bullen's Bridge, and C. M. Baker. The first marriage was Robert Russell to a daughter of Israel Williams, Sen. First post-office was established in 1839, Wm. Bell, postmaster.

In the winter of 1837 and 1838, some families in the town, it is said, had to sift the buckwheat bran the third time for something to keep from starving. Your speaker fared much better there a year or two later, when he made a very good meal on potatoes and milk, and nothing more. This also was faring better than did my worthy friend, the President of your Society, who once upon an occasion, as he informed me, got only the potatoes, minus the milk or even salt.

Among the early settlers of Walworth, who came during the years 1837, 1838 and 1839, were William Bell, Cyrus Church, Israel Williams, Sen., and sons, Jacob G. Saunders, Marcus and Robert Russell, J. C. Church, Thomas

Godfrey, who built the first house on the prairie, John Reeder, James Maxwell and James A., his son, Jonathan Ward, Ira Starr, Amos Bailey, Dr. Henry Clarke, Dr. Wood, P. W. Lake and sons, Christopher Douglass and sons, and his son-in-law, Mr. Sheldon, now of Lake Superior. Among them were some of the prominent men of our county.

Delavan.—So named from E. C. Delavan, the early and steadfast friend of the temperance cause, was first settled, or portions of it claimed, in 1836, by the Phœnix brothers, Henry and Samuel F., Luke Taylor, Allen Perkins and Wm. Phœnix also came in '36; and the latter in the fall of that year, built a log house on the north or right bank of the Turtle.

The Phœnixes claimed all the land bordering on the Delavan water power, or afterwards secured it at land sale. Henry took the village and adjacent lands for his portion, and Samuel the splendid farm situated on the north side of the lake, and recently owned by the Maibies. When I visited the present site of the village in Oct., '38, there was then there only a log store and a small log house.

From these small beginnings has grown our beautiful and enterprising sister village, which now ranks as second only to any village in the county.

Soon after the above named settlers, came Cyrus and Edwin Brainard, and their father, Henry Barlow and S. S. Barlow,* Wm. Hollinshead, Isaac Burson, Charles Bailey and others.

H. and S. F. Phœnix were warm and active temperance men, and were among the earliest who engaged in the temperance movement in this county. They, I have been informed, attempted to exclude the sale of all intoxicating drinks from the village, by inserting in every deed conveying a lot, a clause to that effect. But King Alcohol is not so easily circumvented, as we all know, and he soon entered with banners flying, and if I am not much mistaken, they are flying there still. As

* Judge Barlow was a student at law under Judge Baker, and at present Attorney General of the State. L. C. D.

an offset to this, I would say that the first sermon delivered in the county was preached at the house of Allen Perkins in Delavan, on the evening of October 7th, 1836, by Elder Benjamin Pearce, from the text, "What lack I yet?" Matthew xix, 20th.

In February, 1852, Ebenezer Cheesebro had a small private school for deaf mutes at his own house in Darien, he having a daughter thus afflicted whom he wished to educate. At his request, the speaker drew up for him a petition to the Legislature, then in session, for a law founding an Institute for the education of the deaf and dumb at or near the village of Delavan. Mr. Cheesebro procured signatures to this petition, and was active in obtaining the passage of the act for that purpose, which became a law in April following. This was the origin of the movement which resulted in founding that institution, so creditable to the State, and whose buildings are so ornamental to the beautiful locality they adorn.

Sugar Creek.—The first settlement in this town was made in 1836 or '37. In the latter year and the next, the following named persons came into that town: Asa Blood, D. S. Elting, Wm. Bowman, Jeduthan Spooner, Caleb Miller, the Messrs. Loomers, Joseph Barker and sons, Capt. Kendall, P. G. Harrington, Freeborn Welch, Wm. McDougall, and some others, among whom was the speaker, who resided there about two months in the fall of '38, after his first entrance into the county.

I am informed that one Davis built a log house on the bank of Silver Lake in this town in 1836, which was the only house on Sugar Creek prairie in June, '37. It was then occupied by Asa Blood. My informant says he dined there on a certain occasion, his bill of fare running thus: "Boiled beans, and beans *only, minus* salt."

In '39 or '40 came Julius Edwards and sons, Doct. Harman Gray, Mr. Tibbetts, and many others.

LaGrange—was so called from the native place of General LaFayette. The earliest settlements in this town were made

in 1837 by Volney A. McCracken, Caleb Harris, George Esterly, Jas. and Nathan Holden, True and Moses Rand, the Houghtons, Elijah Worthington, Marshall Newell, O. G. Ewings, the Messrs. Cornish, the Bigelows, Mr. Niblack and Mr. Burt. Many others came in the next two years, whose names I have not been able to ascertain, nor have I been favored with any intelligence respecting early events connected with the settlement of this town.

Linn.—This town was named for Senator Linn, of Missouri, a patriotic statesman. John Powers put up the first log house in 1836, on what is now known as the Manning farm, on section one. He moved into it early the next year. Benj. Ball and his son, Benj. M., came in April, '37; Messrs. Ryland and McBride in June, same year; Jos. E. Howe in spring of '38; Wm. Lanfear in January, '38; and William K. May and James Nelson in '37. Darwin R. May, son of Wm. K., was the first white child born in Linn, unless the palm is contested by Mrs. J. G. Stoker, daughter of A. McBride, who was born in this town, August 2, 1837.

Geneva.—Originally called Big Foot, was so named from Geneva, N. Y., which doubtless was so called from its older namesake in Switzerland—all three of which are similarly situated upon the outlet of lakes of the same name.

The surveyors of the public lands first marked by initials the present site of Geneva village as their claim.

In February, 1836, Christopher Payne, an old frontiersman, born in one of the interior counties of Pennsylvania, who had always kept in advance of law and physic, a fierce Indian hater, having lost a brother, murdered by them, and who always made his cross with a dot to it, hearing of this place from an Indian trader, came there from Squaw Prairie, on the Kishwaukee, Illinois, where he then resided. He, ignorant of the prior claim of the surveyors, so slightly indicated, cut down trees, piled brush, and laid up the body of a log cabin. He then cut down a large black walnut tree, made of it a canoe, and in it floated down the outlet to Fox river, and

down that stream to the Big Woods in Illinois. Soon after, the surveyors returned and burned up Payne's improvements, and when he returned the last of April, he found them in full possession. They drove him away. He then went to the Kishwaukee and brought up seven men. They had a fight with the surveyors party, and were driven off by them, badly bruised and wounded.

Previous to this, and after his first visit, Payne had been to Chicago and hired Robert W. Warren to come and build a saw-mill for him. He also had agreed with James and Phillip Maxwell, Andrew Ferguson and Lewis B. Goodsell, all of Chicago, and Geo. L. Campbell, of Cooperstown, N. Y., to take an interest with him in the claim. In pursuance of this contract with Payne, Warren went up by the Indian, or army trail as far as Big Foot Prairie on his way to Geneva, and there he met Payne and party just after their defeat and ejectment by the surveyors. They all returned home, but soon came back to the encounter again. Payne and Warren were now accompanied by G. S. Warren, A. Ferguson and a Mr. Thrall, and also a man they met on the way, who joined them. This was in June, '36. They found the surveyors had built two log houses on the north side, and James Van Slyke one on the south side of the outlet. They had a parley with the surveyors, but could make no arrangements with them. They would not quit, sell, or divide, and the Payne and Warren party not feeling strong enough to attack them, again returned home, resolved, however, not to abandon the contest till they had recovered the claim.

Ferguson raised some men in Chicago, the Warrens some in Pleasant Grove, Illinois, where they resided, and Payne some more on the Kishwaukee. Like the warriors of the Iliad, they were a mixed multitude from many lands. They came on about thirty strong, all armed men, with rifles, pistols, shot guns and bowie knives. The two Warrens brought their families and household goods in wagons, drawn by seven or eight ox and horse teams which gave to our little army the

pomp and circumstance of war. They encamped on the south side of the outlet over against the surveyors. They sent a message to them to come over and have a talk. The surveyors' party all came over, fully armed, and finding themselves greatly outnumbered, like wise men, they finally agreed to take two thousand dollars for their interest in the claim, which was paid them in barter and cash, and they left. This, in brief, is a history of the first settlement of Geneva. But time would fail me to tell of all the incidents of the struggle. How they fought, and how they warred, and what mighty acts were done; how Payne offered to fight a duel with one of the surveyors to decide the controversy; are they not all written in the book of the chronicles of Geneva by James, whose surname is Simmons, the scribe?

Geneva Van Slyke, the first white child born in the town, and probably in the county, was born here in July, 1836, and was so named from the town. Her mother, wife of James Van Slyke, was at the time the only woman in the place, and she gave birth to her child in the absence of her husband, without physician or midwife, and with only a lad fifteen years old, son of our hero, Payne, as an assistant. Two ladies, one the wife of Doctor Hemminway, soon after arrived from Spring Prairie, where they had been sent for.

The first sawmill was built by R. W. Warren, in 1836, and the race dug. The first grist-mill was erected in 1838, by C. M. Goodsell. These were the first mills built in the county, or indeed in any part of the country for a long distance. The first post-office was established in 1838, A. Ferguson, postmaster. Before this the nearest post-office was at Chicago, or some other point on Lake Michigan. At first the mail was brought once a week on horseback from Spring Prairie, by Solomon Harvey. The frame of the first school-house was erected in 1838, and it was completed in the spring of 1839. The first teacher was Miss Brewster, daughter of Deodat Brewster, and the first male teacher, John Stacy.

The first Temperance Society was formed at my house,

with fifty members, Dec. 25, '39. Rev. Lemuel Hall was Chairman; Benj. Ball was elected President; John Chapin, Vice-President, and C. M. Baker, Secretary. C. M. Goodsell, Morris Ross and Wm. K. May were Executive Committee. On the 21st of that month the Secretary made a report to S. A. Dwinnell, Secretary of the County Temperance society, of the organization and number of members.

In 1840, a distillery was built in Geneva. C. M. Goodsell was then running the grist-mill. He refused to grind the distillers' grain, and they sued him under the law requiring him to grind grain in turn as brought. In the first suit brought before Esq. Latham, they were non-suited for not appearing in time. In the race to reach the place of trial, they lost off one of their wagon wheels by the linch-pin jumping out. This so delayed them and their witnesses, that Goodsell's attorney, who had no witnesses, reached the place of trial first and obtained a nonsuit. It seemed at the time, on a small scale, like the confounding of the Egyptians in the Red Sea. In a second suit, before Judge Douglass, a trial was had, and they recovered judgment, which was appealed to the District Court. In the meantime, the Legislature being in session, Goodsell went to Madison and got passed an act, approved February 5, '41, by which millers were exempted from grinding for distillation, and this law is in existence to the present day.

The first couple married were Charles Noyes and Mary Warren, in December, 1836, probably the first marriage in the county. For want of any one in the county competent to tie the knot they had to go to Milwaukee to have the ceremony performed. To this event we are indebted, under Providence, for the existence of our present patriotic and worthy Register of Deeds, Charles Noyes, Esq.

The first church organized was the Presbyterian, in the spring of 1839, Rev. L. Hall, pastor. The Baptist church was organized in the fall following, and the Rev. P. W. Lake was their first preacher. The first death was that of one Cru-

ser, an old bruiser, who was buried on a knoll east of the village, the single occupant of a solitary graveyard.

In the fall of 1838, R. H. Mallory and C. L. Oatman drove up from Illinois, where they had previously resided, a large number of hogs of the "shad-bellied," "third row" breed. These ran at large in Geneva woods and fattened as much as they could on acorns. They were shot down like deer as they ran, to supply the wants of the inhabitants. It was thin pork, but much better than none, though we had to pay six cents a pound for salt with which to preserve it, and some of us had to hew out white oak troughs for pork barrels.

Among those who came in 1836, besides those already named, were Thos. McKaig, B. C. Gill, Thos. Hovey, Chas. Noyes, Lucian Wright, Samuel Ross, R. T. Ostrander, A. Curtis, Duncan Campbell and Samuel Britton. In 1837, among others, came Anson Turner, Logan McRoss, Dr. O. Tiffany and A. D. Colton. In 1838 came C. M. Goodsell, Joseph Griffin, Rev. Lemuel Hall, Dr. James McNish, C. M. Baker, Thos. W. Hill, and some others, among whom was one Casporus, who was soon after killed by falling from his house while at work on it. In 1839–40, came the Caprons, C. R. Merrill, E. Estabrook, and many others.

Before passing from Geneva, allow me to relate one anecdote characteristic of our original and historic friend, Payne. Soon after the conquest of Geneva as narrated, he sold out his interest there, and made claim to the water power at the foot of Duck Lake. One Carter made a claim just below, of another water power on the same stream. But there was not fall and scope enough for both. To give Carter sufficient head for a power, he must necessarily destroy Payne's. Hence a feud. In early winter, during a snow storm, the snow being about a foot deep, Carter having conceived the diabolical plan of burning out his rival, put it in execution by setting fire to Payne's shanty in his absence, by which it was partly consumed and his tools burned up. This roused Payne, and suspecting the perpetrator of the foul deed, he and his men

tracked him through the snow to his house. "He was not at home, had gone to the lake," so his wife said. They retired, but lay in wait watching, and soon Carter made his appearance outside his domicil. They seized him, took him up to Payne's place at Duck Lake, and tried to get him to confess. This he refused, when they cut a hole through the ice and ducked him in head and heels, all over, twice. As they were about to put him under the ice a third time, Carter owned up, and plead for dear life. Payne, magnanimous as he was fierce and heroic, finally pardoned him on condition that he would "vamose the ranch." Carter left and never again returned, nor is it known where he went, or where he is, nor if dead where his bones lie, to this day.

La Fayette.—This town was named for that early and steadfast friend of America, the Marquis de La Fayette. The first settlement in this town was made in '36. S. A. Dwinnell, Nathaniel Bell, Dr. J. C. Mills, Chas. Perrin and Roderick Merrick came there in that year, but did not bring on their families till the next. In '37 came Riley Harrington, Duer Smith, Elias Hicks, Alex. Wilson, E. C. Singleterry, J. P. West, Isaac Fuller, Alpheus Johnson, A. H. Bunnell, Phipps and Daniel Hartwell, H. H. Sterling, the Harknesses, the Whitmores, a Mr. Hamlin, and many others in that and the next years. The Wylies and others too numerous to mention came soon after.

The first marriage in this town, which has come to my knowledge, was that of A. Bunnell, in the fall of '39, to a daughter of Capt. Chas. Dyer, Rev. L. Hall officiating as clergyman. The bridegroom on that occasion hired of Col. H. Phœnix, of Delavan, his buggy, said to be the only one then in the county. After returning it, on his way home on horseback, the groom, after passing Esq. Latham's about dark, lost his way and rode many miles. After a while he discovered a light at a house where he went in to inquire the way, and behold it was Esq. Latham's again. Whether the bride pined in lonely solitude that night, the record saith not. But the

mishap of getting lost at night was not an uncommon thing in those early days.

Troy—was one of the earliest, if not the first town settled, or in which claims were made in the county. Jesse Meacham and Adolphus Spoor selected claims there in the fall of '35, and moved on to them in May, '36. Soon after, and in the same year, came Othni Beardsley, his brother Alexander, and a young man by the name of Roberts, also George Robinson and brothers. Othni Beardsley commenced plowing May 16th, '36. This was probably the second plowing done in the county, Palmer Gardner having done the first in Spring Prairie. During the summer of '37, Dea. George Hibbard, Elias Hibbard and Dea. Augustus Smith, all from Hadley, Mass., came in. Hence, I suppose, the large fields of broom corn for which Troy was early noted. Also in the same year came Mr. Perry, father of John A. Perry, with his son Alban. Many others settled there about the same time, whose names I have not been able to procure. It is related among the incidents of this town that Major Meacham, and a man by the man of Bigelow, got into a controversy about a claim, and as there were no courts or lawyers in the county, they resorted to the ancient usage of trial by *wager of battle,* in a single combat, to decide the right. Being men of about equal weight, 200 pounds, or upwards, and very muscular, the contest was long and severe. But finally the Major threw his antagonist, and sat on him till he gave in to his terms.

The mill site in this town was early improved by the erection of a grist-mill, and the dam constructed to create the water-power by flowing back upon the extensive marshes, has caused considerable litigation.

Bloomfield.—The first settler in this town was Harry Kimball, who made a claim in the fall of 1836, and built a log house in the spring of 1837, when he was joined by his son Oramel. In the summer of that year came Wm. K. May, Harry Tupper and Marcus Moody. In 1838 came Levi and John Moody, Dan Rowe, Dea. John Chapin, and Wm.

D. Chapin, his son. Thos. Ruttenber, Thos. Buckland, T. H. Fellows, Jonathan Ward, and P. K. and C. R. Van Velzer came in 1839, and many others.

The first sawmill was built in 1845–46, and the first gristmill in 1849–50, both by James F. Dickinson, who laid out and platted the village of Genoa. One of the early incidents of this town was the tearing down of a frame house, built by a squatter on the school section, by a mob, for which they were indicted and fined.

Lyons.—This town was formerly called Hudson. Allen Perkins was the first settler, and he came in 1836 or 1837. Thomas and Wm. F. Lyon came in 1837, and claimed the mill site where the flouring mill and old village stand.

In 1837 or 1838, Booth B. Davis settled near the present village of Springfield, and in the winter of 1839 and 1840 was so unfortunate as to get lost on the prairies near Madison whilst taking a load of provisions to Portage, and exposed to the weather during a cold winter night, and as a consequence lost his lower limbs, which had to be amputated below the knee. But like a resolute and brave man as he is, we still find him on his feet.

In 1838 or 1839, Peter and Daniel Campbell, E. Dayton, Dr. John Stacy, Thos. Fowlston, Michael Farley, and Russell Wait, moved into the north part of the town. Into the south part came in 1837, John and James Brown, Thos. Delancy, and John and Charles Dalton, Mr. Bessey and his son Philip; and in 1838, James and Henry Curran, Richard Fagan and others. Soon after came Thos. Peters, James Kelly, Patrick Powers, Sebastian Sherman, and others of our Irish and German citizens.

Among the early civil suits tried in this county was one under the mill dam act, concerning two rival water powers on White river or Geneva outlet, Christopher Hewitt owning the upper and Thomas and William F. Lyon the lower one. The result was that the latter, at the village, swallowed up the one above. Among the earliest suits for trespass in the Dis-

trict court was one which arose from the burning of a rail fence built across a road running east from what was then called Daytonville, which was a rival to one running from Lyonsdale, as then called, to Burlington. This caused a fierce feud between the two rival villages for many years.

Among other early emigrants to this town, not already named, were Z. B. Burke, J. S. Spoor, several of the Hands, and Isaac Lyon, the father of William P. Lyon, our present worthy Circuit Judge, who is an honor to the town as he is an ornament to the bar and bench.

In this connection, by way of episode and for benefit of the bar, I would say that the first criminal trial in the county took place at Geneva, in December, '38. One Huff and his brother from Fox river came to mill there. A fat ox belonging to P. K. Van Velzer, and chained to a tree, excited their cupidity, and on their way home that night, not regarding the eighth commandment, nor having the terror of the Michigan laws, then in force here, before their eyes, they stole it, killed it in the woods and packed it under their meal bags. The citizens of Geneva, indignant at this bold invasion of their territory and rights, raised a purse and employed your speaker to prosecute the thieves. The elder and principal one was arrested under a warrant from 'Squire McKaig, was examined and committed for trial. On the trial, the justice associated with him, Israel Williams, Jr., another justice, and the prisoner, was defended by General John Bullen. After a long trial he was convicted upon his own false and contradictory statements made on the examination, and a long chain of circumstantial evidence, too strong to be resisted.

The ox was worth eighty dollars. What do you suppose was the judgment of the court? He was fined forty dollars, and adjudged to work out the fine on the highway, and to give bonds for its performance. The bond was given, but was soon after missing, and the work of course was never performed. This same man, who like many others, fell in an evil hour,

afterwards changed his residence, became proprietor in a flourishing town and amassed wealth. So much for living in a great and free country like ours.

The first criminal trial in the District court, or among the first, was that of R. T. Ostrander, indicted for perjury for false swearing before 'Squire McKaig. On the trial he was defended by that sharp and quick-witted lawyer, H. N. Wells, of Milwaukee, a man of great resources on a jury trial. The testimony was going strong against his client, when he bethought to ask the 'Squire where he was born. It proved to be across the water, called the Atlantic. How many times did you appear in court or before the clerk to become naturalized, inquired Wells. Once only, was the reply. I demand then, your honor, that the indictment be quashed, said Wells, addressing the court, as it requires the second application to become naturalized. And the indictment was quashed, or a *nolle prosequi* entered under the direction of the court.

As the Esquire had married several couples, it was thought prudent to apply to the Legislature to legalize all his official acts, and a law to that effect was passed. Now I propose it as a moot question to my brethren of the bar, whether this law made valid the judgment against Huff to work out his fine on the highway, or made the alleged false swearing of Ostrander perjury?

It was said at the time, by the by, that the decision to work out a fine on the highway was authorized by the statutes of Michigan then in force here. But whether this was so or not, nobody knew with certainty, as we had then no statute book, nor any other law book in the county, to my knowledge.

Spring Prairie.—This is one of the most beautiful farming towns in the county, and I think, the most so. It would naturally draw to it settlers at an early day. We accordingly find it was one of the earliest settled and first cultivated towns in the county. Palmer Gardner, the first settler came there in the spring of 1836, and on the 15th day of April commenced building a log house on the place where he now resides on that

beautiful prairie which bears his name. He says he could then hear of no one living within the present limits of Walworth county. On the 30th of April of that year, a Mr. James Nelson with his wife and family of several children, moved into Gardner's house, and he being a bachelor, boarded with them. On the 2d of May following he commenced breaking, and it is claimed this was the first breaking done in the county. On the 25th of the same month he had about twenty-five acres of prairie broken, and the most of it sowed to oats. He planted some corn and potatoes, and made some garden, on the 12th of May. On the 3d of June he sowed some wheat and barley. It is also claimed that the Nelson family was the first in the county, but this may be disputed by Van Slyke's at Geneva, as to which I am not certain.

Daniel Salisbury, our worthy President, arrived in Spring Prairie the 25th of May, 1836. He could then hear of no house in the county but Gardner's, except at Geneva.

There came into Spring Prairie in 1836, besides the three persons above named, Wm. J. Bentley, Joel Smith, Isaac P. Chase, David Pratt, Solomon Harvey, A. A. Hemminway, Perez Merrick, A. L. Merrick, Horace Coleman, Samuel Britton, Rob't Campbell, Dan'l Campbell, Reuben Clark, Gilman Hoyt, Elder Benjamin Pearce, Benjamin C. Pearce, Daniel Adams, David Patten, Rufus Billings, Sylvester G. Smith and George Gillespie. In '37 came Roderick Merrick, Samuel C. Vaughn, Isaiah Dike, Capt. Chas. Dyer, Wm. H. Dunning, and his sons, Norman and William, Wm. D. Crain, Perrin Smith, Jabesh T. Clement, Luke Taylor, Daniel Van Valin, and his sons Oliver and Henry, Ansel Salisbury and Israel Williams, Benj. Hoyt, Sr., and his sons Simon, Avery and Benjamin, Jr., John E. Hopkins, and others. Most of these had families. Mr. Gardner says, two weeks after he settled on his place, the Government surveyors passed his house, dividing the land into sections.

This town was settled and improved rapidly, both in tillage and buildings, and in the latter, if not in both respects, took

the lead of all the other towns in the county, and has, I think, kept it.

The first marriage in this town was between Oliver Van Valin and Jane Russegue, July 1, '37, by Benjamin C. Pearce, J. P. His son Henry was born June 1, '38, probably the first white child born in the town, and he gave his life for his country, having died in the army during the late war, after being wounded in battle. The first death was that of a child of Sylvester G. Smith in '37.

In May, '36, there was a large company of Pottawatamie Indians living in the maple woods on Sugar creek in La Fayette, near the line now dividing that town and Spring Prairie. They had then about one thousand pounds of sugar they had made. They left in June or July following. There was also a company of about forty belonging to the same tribe, who lived in Spring Prairie during the summer of '36. They raised about two acres of corn, and kept about a dozen ponies that made forays on Mr. Gardner's grain, but the Indians were generally peaceable. They lived on section twenty-eight. In November, when they left, they stole a pony from David Pratt, which he never recovered. In October, '36, fourteen wild turkeys were seen in this town, and a year or two afterwards a flock of nearly thirty wintered in the north part of the town, some of which were killed. Two of J. T. Clement's boys treed a lynx on the farm of Col. Merrick, and with the aid of a dog and gun killed him. A bear was also followed through Spring Prairie from the east to the west end, and treed near Peck's Grove, in La Fayette, where he was shot and killed by Isaiah Hamilton.

In July of '37, Ephraim Perkins, of Burlington, Racine county, drove two hundred hogs from Illinois into Sugar creek woods, in Spring Prairie, and left them there to fatten on acorns. In the fall they were driven out and killed, and very few were lost.

This was probably the first large drove of swine driven into the country. Benj. C. Pearce built a frame house in the east part of the town near White river in 1837, the clapboards of

which were riven out and shaved. In this locality a small colony of Mormons established themselves, and for a time were under the leadership of the somewhat noted James J. Strang. For aught the speaker knows, they may be there to this day.* The first prayer meeting in Walworth county was held at the house of A. A. Hemminway on Spring Prairie, July 10th, 1836. It was appointed by S. F. Phœnix, and fourteen persons were present. Another was held at the same place on the following Sabbath, and fifteen were present.

I would here state that this county in its early settlement abounded in deer. Herds of from ten to twenty were frequently seen, and as they went gently bounding away in measured leaps, with their uplifted tails, fringed with white, waving like plumes, nothing could be more animating or graceful. Sandhill cranes also abounded, and sometimes they might be seen in large companies standing erect on the ground, flapping their wings and leaping, apparently performing a waltz, or an Indian war dance. Prairie wolves were common, and often made the night hideous with their howlings, and the large gray wolf was not infrequent.

East Troy.—The settlements in this town commenced at an early day, and about the same time with those of Spring Prairie and Troy. Asa Blood and family were the first actual residents. He came in 1836, just what time I do not know, and built a house on the north bank of Honey Creek, near where the East Troy mills now stand. He and a young man by the name of Roberts claimed the mill site. Austin McCracken came afterwards in 1836, and built a house. Daniel Griffin and his sons, Delanson and Reuben, Allan Hamilton, Benj. Jennings, and Gaylord Graves, all came in 1836 or 1837. Jacob Burgett in the spring of 1837 purchased the claim to the mill site, one of the best and most

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* They did not tarry long in Wisconsin, but removed to Beaver Island, Lake Superior, where they remained a while. Their Wisconsin settlement was called Voree; while there, from September, 1846, to September, 1847, they published the *Voree Herald*, changed first to *Zion's Reveille*, and then to the *Gospel Herald*, several numbers of which have been presented to our Historical Society by Chas. L. Woodward, Esq.

A paper on the Voree Mormon Community is kindly promised the Society by Hon. William P. Lyon, LL. D., of our Supreme Court. L. C. D.

beautiful in the county, and afterwards built the East Troy mills.

Capt. Geo. Fox and his son-in-law, John F. Potter, came from Maine in 1837 or 1838, and settled at Fox's, now Potter's lake, in the east part of the town. And here the latter may be found to-day (by chain and compass, if you are a stranger), enjoying *otium cum dignitate* as a citizen farmer, with that sturdy independence and honest earnestness of character, which he exhibited in Congress, when, with shame be it spoken, treason stalked rampant and unrebuked in the high places of the nation.

Stephen Field came into this town in '37, but did not become a resident till '39, when he with his son Martin, now of Mukwonago, settled on a claim he had previously purchased. East Troy is among the best towns in the county for agricultural purposes, and its little rural village is excelled by none for picturesque beauty and enterprise.

Last, but not least in pluck, in energy, and perhaps in pretension, if not in public spirit, comes our neat and thrifty little sister

Elkhorn.—But her history is the history of the county. She will, therefore, excuse me, after what I have before said, and so long a narration, if I give to her only a few words.

The first settlers of Elkhorn came February 7th, 1837. They were LeGrand Rockwell, Hollis Latham, Milo E. Bradley and Albert Ogden. They came from Milwaukee by way of Racine and Burlington, there being then no road directly here from Milwaukee. M. E. Bradley built the first house, and drew from Geneva sawmill the first load of boards sawed there, to put on it. His brother H. Bradley came about the same time, and General S. Walling soon after. In 1838 and '39 came many others, and among them E. Elderkin and H. S. Winsor in the latter part of the year. Soon after came Levi Lee, George Gale and many others I have not time to name.

I have thus given you a glimpse of the first settlement of

the seventeen towns comprising this county. At its first organization in 1838, it was divided into five towns only, Elkhorn embracing the north-west quarter of the county, Delavan the south-west, Geneva the south-east, and Spring Prairie and Troy the north-east.

The other towns were afterwards carved out of these at the dates following:

Whitewater, August 13th, 1840.
Richmond, January 12th, 1841.
LaFayette, March 21st, 1843.
LaGrange, March 21st, 1843.
East Troy, March 21st, 1843.
Sharon, March 21st, 1843.
Linn, January 23d, 1844.
Bloomfield, January 23d, 1844.
Lyons or Hudson, January 23d, 1844.
Sugar Creek, February 2d, 1846.
Elkhorn, with present limits, February 2d, 1846.

I will now mention a few things which may be of some interest to the descendants of the pioneers of Walworth county. There were but few Indian mounds within its limits. Only three have come to my knowledge. One was in the form of a large turtle in the village, and on the bank of Geneva lake, near the residence of the late lamented A. W. Farr. Another, a longitudinal embankment of slight elevation, some four or five rods in length, in the front of my present residence. But the most notable one is on an eminence near the highway, between Williams Bay on Geneva Lake, and the head of Duck Lake, overlooking both. This is in the form of a bow and arrow. The span of the bow is about fifty feet, across which lies the arrow of corresponding size, aimed for a discharge into Geneva Lake. The idea was finely conceived and executed. In this mound specimens of Indian pottery have been found, which are in the speaker's possession, and for which he is indebted to Mr. Warren Beckwith.

I can only glance at some of the inconveniences, not to say hardships, the early settlers encountered before they could con-

veniently obtain the necessaries and appliances of civilized life. As to roads and bridges, there were none. And nothing was more common than to get "sloughed," technically so called, that is, mired and stuck fast in a slough, or wet prairie, or low bottom lands bordering streams. Fortunate was he who did not in the predicament break the pole or shafts of his wagon or buggy, or get so deep in he could not extricate them or his horses without having to go miles away for help. The experience of many of those present will testify to the annoyances thus encountered in the early days. Then as for household furniture and those things necessary for housekeeping, the first settlers were almost destitute. The least article of the kind, if not brought with them, could only be obtained at treble expense and trouble from some point on the west shore of Lake Michigan.

I have heard of ploughs being taken to Racine, then a three days' journey there and back, at an expense of man, team and wagon, to be mended; of plough shares being carried on the backs of men, on foot, ten or fifteen miles to a blacksmith for the same purpose, and of a stone churn brought from Chicago on a man's back. Many of us well remember when there was no market out of the county for wheat or wool, and when at length the former began to be purchased "at the lake," we had to make a journey of three or four days, to get it there and return, when the roads would permit us to go at all, and there sell it for fifty cents or less a bushel. I need not say it often required the utmost economy to have any money left from the sale when we got back.

Cider barrels had to be used, when they could be found, for pork barrels; beef and soap tubs were made from logs of wood dug out like a canoe. Instead of a rosewood piano in the corner, stood a solitary bedstead of rough poles fastened into augur holes in the house-logs, and having only a single post. Instead of ottomans and extension tables, were stools of rough slabs mounted on three wooden pins, like an extemporized milking stool, and tables of green basswood boards that would shrink in a month, so that a knife would drop through the

cracks. Houses were built without a nail, save perhaps in the door, if there was one, and beds made of prairie hay, if it could be got, etc., etc.

These were the experiences of the first settlers of this county. And whilst they were annoying, and often tried the patience of the meekest of us, since they are past and we look on the results, do we, companions, regret that we passed through the ordeal? These aided in sharpening our wits, such as we had, in giving firmness and stability to character, and developing what of manhood there was in us. Whence these highly cultivated farms, these broad fields loaded with grain and fruit, which greet our eyes on every prairie, and from every hill top in the county? Whence these beautiful villages, with their spires pointing heavenward, their tasty mansions, their spacious and substantial school-houses and seminaries, their stir and hum of business? These are the fruitage of our sowing. Will our children less cherish our memories that we have passed through this struggle with nature and adverse circumstances without failure, God being our helper, and that we bequeath to them so goodly a heritage?

There is one more topic upon which I should touch, or I shall derelict in my duties as a faithful historian. I allude to our military trainings. There was upon a time rumors and fears among many of the good people of Wisconsin, and even our truly brave and worthy Gov. Dodge was of the same opinion, that the remnants of all the lost tribes of Indians, from the Six Nations to the Sacs and Foxes, would be down upon us with a vengeance. So the militia must be organized, armed and equipped. The edict went forth, and suddenly there was a mustering in the land. Companies were commanded to assemble on such a day, on such a forty, or such a quarter section, in a particular town and range of the Milwaukee Land District, in Walworth county; and the regiment was commanded to rendezvous on a particular day at the county seat. Oh, for the pen of Irving to describe what transpired! They came, as our friend Cravath hath it—some with hats, and some without; some had coats, and some hadn't; some had

shirts on, and some hadn't; and all armed with all manner of weapons from sticks upward. And then as to their maneuverings and their lines of battle. Falstaff and his doughty heroes were veterans to them. School boys a snow-balling, a Virginia worm fence built through the woods by moonlight, are feeble comparisons. Some were armed with pocket pistols in the shape of junk bottles, and they were loaded, weren't they? And they discharged them, didn't they? For further particulars I refer you to our humorous friend P. Cravath, Esq., of Whitewater, and our gallant friend Col. Elderkin, of Elkhorn.

I have not time to speak of the claim laws and claim committees, by which and by whom justice was administered among the early settlers in regard to their rights as squatters on the public lands. Suffice it to say, they answered their end in a time and place where no other laws or tribunal could reach, and justice was usually fairly meted out under them, though sometimes rather roughly and summarily.

Walworth being chiefly an agricultural county has not increased in population with the rapidity of some having large manufacturing or commercial centres. But her growth at first vigorous, has been steady and healthy. From a population of about one thousand in 1838, she has gradually increased to the respectable number at the present time, of nearly thirty thousand souls.

The first clergymen who to my knowledge came into the county were Reverends Benjamin Pearce, Lemuel Hall, P. W. Lake, Orra Martin, Henry Topping, A. Gaston, C. Morgan, Cheney and Nichols.

The first physicians, so far as I know, were Doctors Hemminway and Mills of Spring Prairie; Clark, Wood and Mulford of Walworth; Tripp, Brewer and Magoon of Whitewater; Tiffany, McNish and Parshall of Geneva; Henderson and Young of Elkhorn; Hunt of Delavan; Gray of Sugar Creek; Giles and Blanchard of Troy and East Troy.

The first attorneys, and who came in the order of their

names, were C. M. Baker, in fall of 1838; Milo Kelsey, spring of 1839; E. Elderkin, fall of 1839; H. S. Winsor, same fall, and soon after Warner Earl; about the same time, E. Estabrook* and H. W. Clarke, of Geneva; and Grant and Brown of Whitewater, in 1840, or about that time. O. Babcock came at an early day, John F. Potter among the earliest, though he never assumed active practice as an attorney.

The financial credit of this county has always stood A No. 1, from the beginning. Never, to my knowledge, have her county orders been under par value—a remarkable exception to all, or nearly all other counties in the West.

In loyalty to the Government in the days which tried men's souls, none were more steadfast, or came oftener to the rescue. Not a town in the county, not a neighborhood, I may almost say, but has some one or more of its number sleeping his last sleep in the Southern soil, a willing sacrifice "that this Republic should not perish from the earth." In its morality, intelligence, refinement and solid worth of its inhabitants, none ranks higher in the State. And the exhibitions of this day on these grounds, witness to her excellence in blooded stock, in agricultural implements, in the products of the farm and the dairy, in her fruits and flowers, and the skill and handicraft of her fair daughters.

Fellow citizens, we have verily a goodly land, and our lines have fallen to us in pleasant places. Let us now and forever, for these and other blessings, devoutly thank the bountiful Giver of them all.

And now, before closing, there remains for me one duty to perform. I know I have detained you long, much longer than I anticipated or intended, and I fear I have wearied your patience, and yet with such a field, how much more might have been said. But this one thing more, I know you will pardon me if I trespass upon your time a few moments in uttering. I have spoken of the *men* who first settled old Walworth. But

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* Hon. Experience Eastabrook was a member of the Second Constitutional Convention, member of the Assemb'y of 1851, and Attorney General in 1852 and '53 and Territorial Attorney General of Nebraska from 1854 to '59. L. C. D.

what, what, old comrades in this life-battle in the wilderness that was, what of our companions, the *women?*

Many of them had been delicately reared, and were accustomed to the luxuries and refinements of cultivated society. And most or all had good homes with the necessaries and conveniences of life in abundance, and were surrounded by kind friends and dear relatives. To these they had been bred, to all these they were strongly attached. But these ties were sundered, these homes were left behind, when, after the last trunk was packed, and the last farewell was sadly uttered, they set their faces westward for a new life and a new home they knew not whither, but they knew it must be among strangers. They shared with us the toils of the journey, the weary miles of sunshine and storm, as we journeyed on and onward. They partook with us of the coarse fare and rude accommodations of the wagon and wayside, the canal boat and the steamer, the log tavern and the bivouac under the open heavens, all this they encountered without murmuring, and cheerfully.

And when late in autumn, or early spring, it may be, in the cold storm or driving mists and chill winds that cut to the bones, they took their departure from Chicago or Milwaukee, the last outposts of civilization, over those low, lonely prairies which surrounded the one, or through the gloomy forests which enveloped the other, over dismal roads, beset with ruts or stumps, without sign of cultivation or human habitation, then it was that came to their hearts the hour of most bitter trial, then it was that amid their loneliness and utter heart desolation, the dear homes and kindred they had left, rose up before them, and through their tears they looked down upon the little ones who clung around them. But not a murmur, not a word of regret or repining escaped them. The feelings, too deep for utterance, which swelled within them, were smothered in their bosoms. When we at last, some later, some earlier, had found a place where to make a home in these pleasant groves and prairies of Walworth—pleasant to us men, for here there were herds of bounding deer, and flocks of wild

fowl, the wolf, and the sand-hill crane, and other game, large and small, for us to hunt; the lakes and streams abounded in fish, we could take them at our will; the country was all open and free to roam over, as one great park. There was excitement to us in all this—a verge and scope, a freedom, an independence and abandon, suited to our rougher nature and coarser tastes. We could roam and fish, or hunt as we pleased, amid the freshness and beauties of nature.

But how was it with our wives? From all these bright, and to us fascinating scenes and pastimes, they were excluded. They were shut up with the children in log cabins, when they were fortunate enough to get them—rude huts, without floors often, and not infrequently without doors or windows, unchinked often, unpointed, even with mud mortar oftener, while the cold, bleak winds of March or December whistled through them. Frequently were they covered with shakes fastened on with poles, between which the stars at night looked down upon the faithful mother and her sleeping infants. Here in one small room, filled perhaps often with smoke, without furniture, except a little extemporized of the rudest kind—rough slab stools, an equally rough table, and a bedstead, if any, made of poles fastened into the house; without cooking utensils, save perchance a kettle, a skillet and a frying pan; destitute of crockery, and with little tinware, they were called upon to do, unaided, the duties of a housewife. With these conveniences and these surroundings, they took upon them for weeks and months, and even for years, the burden of their households in a continued struggle with hindrances and perplexities. Nature might smile without, but it was not for them. The excitements of the chase, the pleasures of angling were not theirs. The greetings of companions, and melodies of the woods and prairies, the freedom and freshness without, so quickening and healthful to our pulses, were unshared by and shut out to them. Yet faithfully, patiently, hopefully, they plied their daily round of duties, the guardian angels of our homes, and helps *meet* for man. These were

heroic women, to whom our hearts did homage, and I should fail in the duties of the hour, if in the roll-call of worthy and honorable names this day, they should not be in it remembered. All honor then, to the noble women who so bravely aided us in the settlement of this new country. And comrades, in all our after anniversaries, while time with us shall last, let none ere go by, but they in it shall be remembered.

And now, friends, asking pardon for so long detaining you in the review, which I feel is so imperfect, what more had I ought to say? I give you all a hearty greeting and my best wishes—a long life and happiness. But, on looking over this assembly, I miss some, many, old, familiar faces. All are not here. Where are the Phœnixes—Henry and Samuel F.? Where are doctors Clarke and Wood, and Tripp,* and McNish, and Tiffany? Where are the Goodsells, C. M. and L. B.? Where are Mallory, and Bell, and Newell, and Julius Edwards? Where are Jeduthan Spooner and Jesse Meacham, and Adolphus Spoor, and Benjamin Ball? Where are Lemuel Hall, and A. Gaston, and P. W. Lake, and Benjamin Pearce, and John Chapin, and Elias Hibbard? Where are Captain Fox and Christopher Douglass, and the long list of companions, worthy names, who came in to possess the land with us? But, alas! those faces in the flesh, we shall behold no more forever. These were good men and true, men of mind and merit, above the average in talent and energy. They would have been prominent men in any community, men whose absence would be missed. Let us kindly remember them amid the greetings and rejoicings of this day.

And when, my friends, it shall be our lot to enter upon that other journey which awaits us all, which will take us beyond these earthly scenes, may we be prepared to pitch our tents in that land where there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither any more pain and where God shall wipe away all tears from our eyes.

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* Dr. James Tripp, of Whitewater, was a member of the Territorial Assembly in 1841-1844. L. C. D.

Neyon De Villiers

By Lyman C. Draper

In the Fifth Volume of the *Collections* of the Wisconsin Historical Society, a sketch is given of Neyon De Villiers, as among the early French border partisans, who, in September, 1730, accompanied the successful expedition against the warlike Sauks and Foxes in the Fox River Valley. That he subsequently, in 1751–52, commanded at Fort Miami, then at Fort Chartres, in the Illinois country, from which he convoyed provisions, by water, to Fort du Quesne; and, in 1756, led a force of Illinois French and Indians, all the way to Fort Granville, on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, which he captured and burnt, and retired with a large number of prisoners; and that he was afterwards in command of Fort Chartres till June, 1764, when he retired to New Orleans. That he received the order of the Cross of St. Louis, as a reward for his fidelity and services. This was the last we could trace him.

Shortly after the publication of that volume of *Collections*, we made, in November, 1868, the acquaintance of Mrs. Betsey Bishop, at Vincennes, Indiana, who was born at Opelousas, Louisiana, in 1788. Her father was Louis De Villiers, who had been an officer, as his daughter believes, of some considerable prominence in the French service. He married a lady of Louisiana, first asking the King's consent, who referred the matter to the Governor of the Colony, whose approval was readily secured. He then resigned his commission, and settled at Opelousas, and died there, about 1793, and was buried in the church at that place. He left fourteen children, two only younger than Mrs. Bishop. This daughter marrying at the age of fifteen, removed two years thereafter, in 1805, to Vincennes, where, her first husband dying, she married Mr. Bishop. Her mother migrated to Vincennes, and died there.

While it is not absolutely certain that Louis De Villiers was a son of Neyon De Villiers, we think, as the latter retired to Louisiana, the supposition is more than probable.

Additions and Corrections

Page 137. In a note on Mr. Hyer's reference to the ill-feeling that existed among the Indians on Rock River, in August, 1836, it was suggested that the murder of Ellsworth Burnett must have been the cause. Further investigation has proved the correctness of this suggestion. Hon. W. M. Dennis, Gen. Luther A. Cole, James Rogan, John Richards and other early settlers of Watertown, unite in stating that no white man was killed by Indians near Watertown in 1836; but that Burnett's death must have been referred to, which occurred in November, 1835. Other evidence, from Milo Jones, Col. Wm. B. Slaughter, Judge A. G. Miller and Hon. W. A. Prentiss, serve to corroborate this date. The two Indians who murdered Burnett, and wounded James Clyman, were apprehended, and were in confinement at the time indicated by Mr. Hyer. November, 1836, is the date usually assigned to the Burnett tragedy; but the evidence is conclusive that it transpired in November of the preceding year.

Page 139—**Rock River Claim Company.** Mr. Dennis says: "The headquarters of the Rock River Claim Company was at Jefferson, and the late Enoch G. Darling was its principal manager. For correct information about that company, I refer you to Milo Jones, of Fort Atkinson."

Mr. Jones writes: "I will give you my recollections, as I have nothing better at hand. In December, 1835, Solomon Juneau, E. W. Edgerton, Henry Hosmer, T. A. Holmes, I am not certain but Geo. Hosmer, together with a Frenchman named Latonder, all left Milwaukee with your humble servant, to look for mill-sites and other desirable locations. Our first point of location was at what is now Hebron; then here [Fort Atkinson], and claimed two sections of land; thence to where the village of Jefferson now stands; thence up the Crawfish as far as Milford. Not finding anything we thought very desirable, we returned to Milwaukee.

"The original claimants, with the exception of Latonder, organized the Company that winter or the summer following; and took in Dwight Foster, Enoch Darling, and David Sargent. The first house put up by the Company was here at Fort Atkinson, and Dwight Foster moved into it in the fall of 1836. The winter following the mill was built at Hebron. The Rock River Claim Company claimed Hebron, Indian Town, at the junction of Bark river and Whitewater, Fort Atkinson, and Jefferson.

"There were what were called claim shanties put up to hold the claims at all the points, at about the same time; and some 'old bach' was detailed to hold the claim at Jefferson, and perhaps was occupying the location at the time Dwight Foster moved here; for under the claim rules, some one must occupy. I believe David Sargent held the claims at what was called "The Forks,' now Jefferson. I was interested in all the claims, but my occupation [as surveyor] being in the field, I did not see what was going on oftener than once or twice a year. I only furnished my part of the capital according to the rules of the company."

Pages 359 and 381, notes. Mrs. Peck corrects a mistake about her husband playing on the fiddle: "My husband never played on any kind of musical instrument in his life to my knowledge. It was his younger brother, Luther Peck, and Horace Coleman, who played such sweet music on the 4th of July, 1839. Coleman boarded at our house the first year, and part of the second. It is a little singular that Madison will persist in calling my husband a fiddler. My father was one, and taught me to be one, and I taught my husband's brother—playing merely for our own amusement; and never played for dancing parties, except a few times while we were so isolated at Madison the first winter.

"My husband had other business. Gov. Dodge appointed him Justice of the Peace; he afterwards resigned, and recommended Seymour, who was appointed. Mr. Peck was then elected one of three Commissioners for Dane County, then embracing in its jurisdiction what now constitutes five counties; Prescott Brigham and a Mr. Larkin were the other two, and La Fayette Kellogg was their clerk. They caused the first bridge across the Catfish, and the jail to be erected; but had to curtail the bounty on wolves' scalps to do it.

"Michel St. Cyr was a half-breed Indian, and lived with a squaw in a little but where we got hay, at the City of the Four Lakes, to fill our beds, when we had our first arrival of strangers. Wallace Rowan was in partnership with Abraham Wood in building a mill at Baraboo; he had a light-colored wife, and died here at Baraboo."

Mrs. Peck errs in part as to the first board of Dane County Commissioners. The records show that Simeon Mills, Eben Peck and Jeremiah Lycan composed the board: they held their first meeting, May 15th, 1839, at the Madison Hotel, and chose La Fayette Kellogg Clerk. Col. E A. Bird was chosen first Sheriff of the county; Wm. A. Wheeler, Assessor; Adam Smith, Collector; G. P. Delaplaine, Surveyor; R. L. Ream, Register of Deeds; and John Stoner, Treasurer.

Page 391, note. Mr. Suydam, since receiving the advance sheets of this volume, relative to the primitive survey of Madison, writes: "As to St. Cyr, I have no doubt he was the man; I think I now remember the name, and his residence was by a large stream or spring.

"I was so confident as to the time of our making the first survey of Madison, that I called it November without the slightest hesitation; and my wife, also, who remembers better than I do, says it was November; but as the official record makes it October, so of course it must have been. The dates come along all in proper order as to the days and certificates, and the introduction of the bill in the Belmont Legislature, bearing dates, as they do, in October and November, are conclusive evidence. Another circumstance made it more certain in my mind as to its being November, was, that on the morning we left home, the ground was white with snow, which fell the day before, and was frozen nearly hard enough to bear our horses—a thing which does not happen in this country, at that season, more than once in a generation. I do not think that anything was antedated, as there could have been no object in that. The record must govern, and I must give in to it, and yet I think it was November. Mr. M. L. Martin has no recollection as to the month in which the survey was made.

"Judge Knapp is in error as to his statement of but a single day's reconnoisance with government notes and surveys. We actually meandered and measured the shores of both the lakes and the lines, as we had to do in order to be certain of the ground before it could be possible to make a plat sufficiently reliable to put on record, and sell lots by. If my records, maps, and memorandums, of all my early journeyings as surveyor had not been burned up in a fire here some years ago, I could have given the correct dates, and many more items of early history."

Page 394. It is an error that Wisconsin City, one of the competing points for a Capital, was in Iowa county. Among the maps preserved by our Historical Society is an engraved plat of Wisconsin City, without date, but made in 1836, 19 by 28 inches in size, and certified by John Mullett, U. S. Dep. Surveyor. It shows that this paper city was located on the south side of Wisconsin river, on sections eight, nine and seventeen, township 10, range 7 east; situated in a bend of the river, on a beautiful eminence, commanding a splendid view of the stream, with two long public landings fronting the river; a public square for Territorial use of two blocks; Franklin, Lafayette, and Washington Squares, each four blocks—each block 260 feet square; three market places, three blocks in length, and 200 feet wide; streets from 60 to 100 feet wide. Isaac H. Palmer, of Lodi, confirms this description, adding that he visited the place in 1837, with a view of purchasing the city—"it was then," he says, "in its glory, with the stakes all standing, or enough to show the public grounds." The locality of Wisconsin City is in the southwestern part of the present town of West Point, Columbia county; and must not be confounded with the paper place of the same name, mentioned elsewhere in this volume, located on Rock river, in Rock county; nor yet with Superior City, embracing the old Black Hawk battle-ground, in Dane county, a little below Sauk City.

L. C. D.

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